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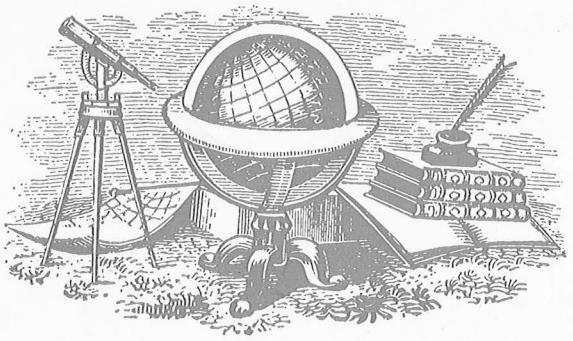

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POPULAR HISTORY (FACETIA)

Written and Edited by E. C. BURMEISTER

Several historical works of lasting interest have been written by interested laymen, rather than by professional historians. The popular examples are Gibbon,[1] Macauley, Wells, Durant, H. J. Muller, and Bertrand Russell. Their products, generally reliable, have a popular appeal because their content has captured the imagination of the multitude, giving them insight to past events.

Russell states in *The Uses of the Past*,[2] that *Middletown*, Norris's *Octopus*, and Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* are immensely valuable in understanding various segments of history.[3] The narrative of the author is important in vividly depicting the past. Thucydides, I believe, offers many amusing stories that add drama to the narrative of history, unlike Herodotus who cared more for accuracy.[4]

Closer to our day we see the splendid flow of history in Macaulay's *History of England*. This work has been called "a great Tory pamphlet," because he gave a logical place to the middle classes, especially in the 18th and 19th century.[5] Macaulay's work has remained popular throughout the world, in over ten languages, because of: 1) his brilliant style, 2) the wealth and variety of knowledge displayed, and 3) the decisive impression he makes on the reader. The imprint made on the reader needs modifying as Macaulay was motivated by the status quo of Great Britain.[6]

Previous efforts by Rank, Drotsen, and Tritche[7] began a critical objectivity, and left the historian a recorder of known facts. Style was indifferent and only the content or theme seemed to matter.[8] The noble sweep of history came with Lavisse and others. The noble sweep or large canvas was the intention of H. G. Wells when he compacted a wide gathering of facts into his famous *Outline*. He was followed by other minor imitators, such authors as Spengler, Croce, and Arnold Toynbee.[9] Currently the most popular world

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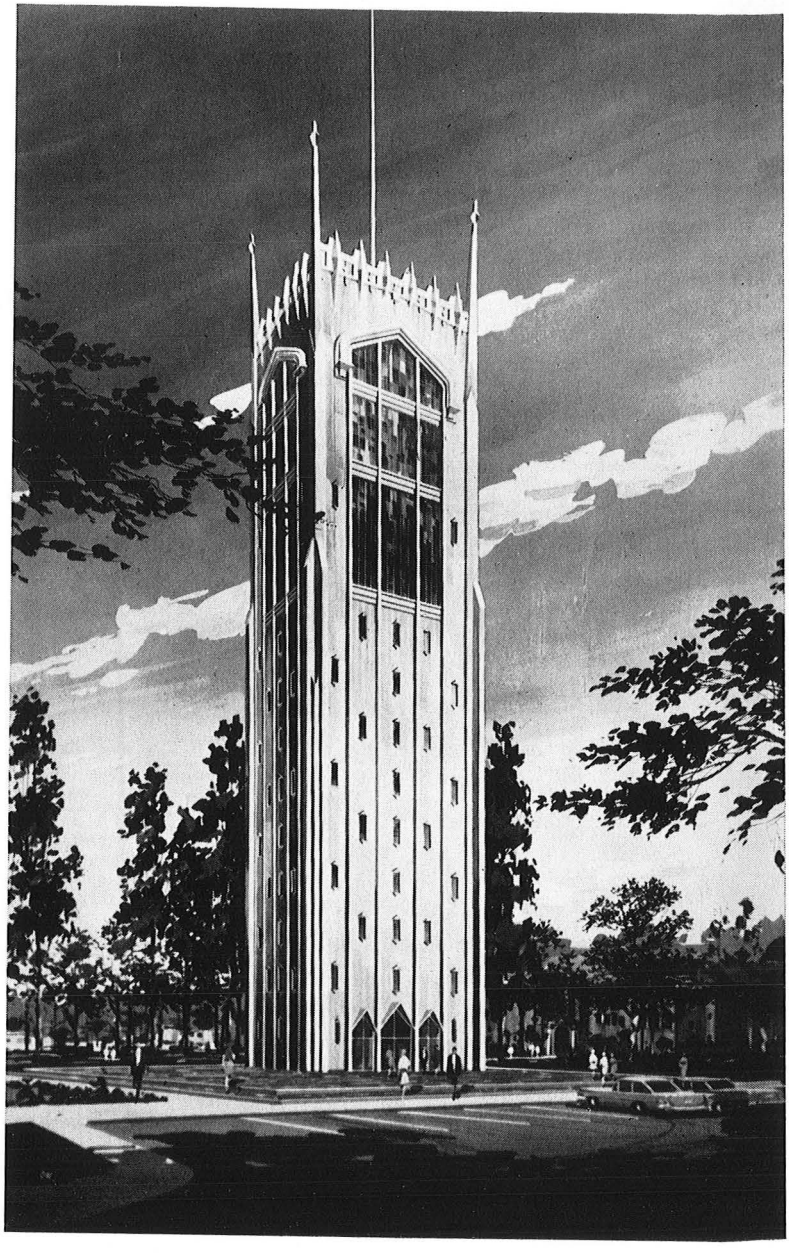
Editor's notes: (Required to correct gross errors and careless mistakes.)

1. A man who conscientiously labored on his classic history for twenty years is a layman?
2. H. J. Muller is the author of this title, published by Oxford, 1952.
3. See: Russell, Bertrand, *Understand History*. Wisdom Library, 1962, c1957. p. 31 and 37.
4. Vice-versa! Our author, like Herodotus(!) never lets facts spoil a good story: see Herodotus, Book I, the story of Gyges.
5. Tory? Correction: "A great Whig pamphlet" because of his interpretation of the place of the educated middle-class in the 17th(!) century and thereafter.
6. More specifically, a status quo for England as he was a nationalist; witness his disparaging remarks about Scotland and Ireland in his history and essays.
7. i.e., Leopold von Ranke, J. G. Droysen, and H. von Treitschke, and Theodore Mommsen can be added.
8. An objective history can display a theme?
9. Minor imitators? !

Continued on page 12



PACIFIC PIONEERS AGAIN!

By ROBERT E. BURNS

"As long as a man has a dream in his heart,
he cannot lose the significance of living."

HOWARD THURMAN

The University of the Pacific has been built on dreams. Its history, since those days in 1851 when Edward Bannister and his associates heroically dreamed and courageously built, the institution's steady though sometimes slow growth has been accomplished by faith and with great confidence.

Each generation—almost every decade—has presented its particular problems and obstacles. Each has been faced and overcome; progress and growth have been accomplished in spite of them.

Pacific's progress has been dramatic and exciting. Particularly since its campus move from San Jose to Stockton, under the leadership of Dr. Tully Cleon Knoles, the institution has enjoyed a growth that has been phenomenal. In enrollment, campus facilities, and academic services, this growth has been rapid and healthy. Today the university is a fully-accredited, four-year, coeducational, privately-endowed institution—California's oldest, being only four months younger than the State itself. It is the only Protestant institution of its kind in the vast area between Los Angeles on the south, Albany, Oregon, on the north, Salt Lake City on the east, and the Pacific Ocean on the west. It has served generations of young men and women for more than 111 years, and today looks to the future with great vision and confidence.

But even phenomenal growth creates problems. One of these is the danger of losing the small-college concept, with its personal values, and becoming a carbon copy of the great tax-supported state universities. This danger, growing more apparent year after year, was faced by the president, faculty and Board of Regents during the academic year 1960-1961. This was the 110th anniversary of the institution's chartering.

During that year the administration and all those charged with the institution's destiny did some serious self-study. Aims, goals, objectives were reappraised and re-evaluated. Potentials were considered. The place and purpose of a church-related institution of higher education in this great area of California were studied. Out of this study and evaluation came decisions that were to change the pattern and future of a great university.

Pacific took advantage of its 110th anniversary to emphasize new long-range plans. Using the colorful Founder's Day convocation as a setting, these plans were announced and launched. They included the revival of the earlier legal name, *University of the Pacific;* announcement of a decision to "grow while remaining small" through the creation of a cluster of small colleges within the university structure—perhaps as many as 15 in as many years—each with its own student body, curriculum and faculty; and announcement of the opening of the first of these new colleges, Raymond College, in the fall of 1962, in new quadrangle-type residence units to accommodate 250

students. These were the elements of Pacific's total progress plans as then announced, a realistic pattern which was to take into account mounting enrollment pressures, and an attempt to provide a means of extending educational services to more youth without destroying the traditional values of the small, church-related, residence campus experience.

This was a bold venture. Unlike the Great Books program at St. John's and the Claremont cluster of independent colleges, this cluster-college plan was to be unusual and distinctive in American higher education. It was decided to pattern the new university structure after that of Cambridge and Oxford Universities of England, more than after anything to be found in America's exploding campus situations, with their overcrowded classrooms, proliferation of courses, and necessary impersonal instruction situations. The great scourge of the American higher education system is that universities are getting so big that students are losing their identity. This we determined to avoid. Our cluster colleges would employ the Oxford tutoring plan; each would be limited to 250 students, living together in coeducational dormitory systems.

To accomplish this latter objective, to coordinate the best in English higher educational practices with the best in America, it was felt that certain Pacific administrative officials should visit Cambridge and Oxford, spending some time in the various colleges of each, in an effort to determine what features best could be transferred to our campus. This was done in the fall of 1961. Pacific's president, academic vice-president, architect, director of public relations, and the provost of the first of these proposed cluster colleges made the trip to England and "lived in" at some of the typical colleges, accumulating data and knowledge for use in Pacific's venture.

This study confirmed our conviction that we were on the right path, that we would be able to provide the finest of educational instruction and facilities, and yet retain the character by which we are best known and of which we are most proud. Our present institution would remain at its present size of approximately 1,750 undergraduate students. Every possible effort would be made to build and strengthen our present Liberal Arts College (now called College of the Pacific) which has served generations of students so well for over a century. To provide this leadership a new dean, Dr. Harold S. Jacoby, was appointed and is now serving with distinction. But, in the face of admissions pressures, we would grow by trying to remain small. Each time we added a college, we would add 250 students. But they would be housed and instructed in small units, which would retain all the best features of the small college.

Each of these colleges would have its own individuality, its own provost and faculty, its own housing, common room, dining hall, etc., and each would operate on a near-tutorial system, with a defensible student-faculty ratio. Each college would offer high-quality interdepartmental courses, with much independent work in the first two years and tutorials in the upper two years.

The cardinal sin of American colleges is the splintering of the curriculum—the proliferation of courses. And the amount of vocationalism in colleges has reached the ludicrous. The purpose of these "cluster" colleges will be the sharpening of the mind. Students who want vocational training can go elsewhere. These colleges will give students a feeling of belonging, a sense of pride and spirit, a feeling American education is losing because of large enrollments.

II.

"It is a wretched taste to be gratified with mediocrity when the excellent lies before us."

Ground was broken for the first of these cluster-type colleges in March 1961. It opened its doors to 58 freshmen last fall. It is named Raymond College in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Raymond of Knight's Landing, California, who have given Pacific 3,500 acres of rich Sutter County land valued in excess of $1,500,000. This college was erected on the old Baxter Stadium site, a section of the Pacific campus with a great tradition in its own right.

Raymond College is distinctive. Under the leadership of Provost Warren Bryan Martin, and with a faculty of real stature, it means to provide an atmosphere of excellence in which the student is challenged to do his work both faster and better. A student at Raymond works faster in that he studies three terms per year instead of two semesters, and qualifies for graduation at the end of three years, or nine terms. The student has an opportunity for better work in that he takes only three courses per term, thereby allowing study in depth. He works more closely with professors because the curriculum is organized in small seminars, tutorials, and independent study, plus the fact that the student-faculty ratio is maintained at approximately 10 to 1. He profits, too, from the close quadrangle organization of the facilities, with faculty offices and seminar rooms located in the living units and with the common room offering a browsing library and a center for conversation. Faculty and students share meals and ideas while dining in the Great Hall.

In defining liberal education and the Raymond program, Provost Martin has said: "To train the mind and discipline the emotions; to encourage curiosity and imagination, creativity and personal authenticity; to bring man into contact with the records of the past and the realities of the present; to help the young student recognize and carry through his obligation to his fellow men and to society; to help him make the most of all that is around him and all that is within him, so that he may be equal to the challenge of the future; to help produce, in a word, better men and better citizens—these have always been regarded as the prime functions of liberal education in America. . . . Every effort has been made to provide an atmosphere and a program which will inspire and equip our finest youth for the challenges of leadership and the full life. The invaluable traditions of scholarship, elevated standards of conduct, and gentle social customs afford the foundation on which this college bases its service."

How does the Raymond program differ from the traditionally outstanding liberal arts program of the College of the Pacific? Of course, both schools share a common goal—the education of the young people in their charge. The difference lies chiefly in methodology—in the organization of the curriculum, in the emphasis at Raymond on the learning process outside as well as in the classroom, in a somewhat different approach to grades and tests, sororities and fraternities, and other prominent features of a more traditional liberal arts program. Raymond is not so diversified nor diffuse as most other schools. It has no majors; it does not divide faculty and curriculum into departments. It does not offer part-time nor terminal programs.

Rather, it offers a core curriculum, one which is generally prescribed, though with some degree of flexibility. It concentrates in the classical divisions of the liberal arts—the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. Each student is required to take a sequence in mathematics and science, for example, and there is a great emphasis on foreign languages. It is not the place of Raymond College to offer professional nor technical training at the undergraduate level, nor does it profess to offer a program applicable to all. Rather, its appeal is to the superior student willing to make the financial and intellectual investment to earn an education in a school which relies upon the individual and not the mass, upon quality rather than quantity.

How has this first cluster college fared? How has it been accepted and appraised in this, its first year of existence? Educators, the national press, college and university presidents and deans have looked it over and given it high praise. Magazines and newspapers have reported on it as a bold yet sound venture. Its program is being copied by state institutions in the West. Truly, it is a college of distinction in the Pacific tradition.

III.

"Make no little plans—they have no magic to stir men's blood . . ."

The second college in Pacific's new cluster grew out of as equally thorough a study as did Raymond College. It was at a faculty retreat in Columbia in early 1959 that the attention of faculty and staff was called to the possibility of developing a program of Inter-American studies as a contribution to international understanding.

There were many reasons for this. The State of California has close historic ties with Mexico. A high proportion of the population of the state is Spanish-speaking. The Methodist Church, to which the University of the Pacific is related, long has been involved in an extensive missionary and educational program in Central and South America. Through the library holdings in California history and Western Americana, the University has the beginnings of a collection which might serve as the basis for studies in this field. The most advanced techniques and equipment for the teaching of foreign languages, including Spanish, are used. For a small university with a small

faculty a surprisingly large number of faculty members have close personal and professional ties with Latin America. With such resources, it was felt that the University of the Pacific could make an important contribution in this significant field.

As in the case of the Oxford-Cambridge visits, it was decided that representatives of the university should visit South America and obtain at first hand the information needed before such a program could be proposed. Accordingly, during the summer of 1960, Pacific's president and academic vice-president visited South America, traveling thousands of miles in ten countries, and talking with literally hundreds of people in all walks of life. Following their return to the campus the results of this study were compiled, and it was on this historic Founder's Day January 6, 1961, that the first public announcement of the extensive program was made.

The program as announced included many important features, including the coordination and expansion of course offerings, the strengthening of faculty resources to better serve such a program, the strengthening of library facilities, the increased use of speakers on the campus from Latin America, the development of scholarship programs, the providing of "experience opportunities" for staff members, the development of an exchange professorship program, the encouragement of tours to Central and South America, and the cooperation with colleges south of the border in expanding their programs through the development of junior colleges there.

Most important of all, it was announced that as the Oxford-type cluster colleges at the university were developed, the second to be founded should be a liberal arts college in which all instruction should be in the Spanish language, an academic innovation of major significance—something entirely new in American higher education.

This latest unheard-of idea—a Spanish-speaking college within an English-speaking university in the United States!—had been born on this visit to South America. It was conceived in the home of the American Embassy in Uruguay. Present were the American visitors and the American Ambassador, the Honorable Robert F. Woodward, now United States Ambassador to Spain. A few months later the idea was formalized and the Board of Regents of the University approved creation of Elbert Covell College, second in the cluster, where, for the first time in America, all classes would be taught in Spanish, with English as the foreign language.

In just two short years the idea has become reality. Today the University of the Pacific—Universidad del Pacifico, as it will be known south of the border—has its buildings erected and furnished, its curriculum formalized, and its faculty is being assembled. Under the direction of Dr. Arthur J. Cullen, recently of the Inter-American University in Puerto Rico, the first academic year will start in September.

Like Raymond College, this second new college has been made possible by the generosity of a friend. It is named after Mr. Elbert Covell of Wood-

bridge, a man who, in the golden twilight of a useful life, puts his wealth to work in a most practical example of Pan-American friendship. His generosity, his great interest, and his abiding spirit of cooperation have breathed life into this latest Pacific dream and made it a reality.

Covell College sets as its goals: mutual understanding, assistance, and progress among the Americas. It provides realistic, practical educational service to both Latin and North American students.

A serious problem facing Latin-American students in coming to the United States to study is, naturally, the overcoming of the language barrier. In many cases insufficient command of English means that much of the first year has to be given up to learning the language. This sometimes is frustrating and often results in failure. Conversely, the American student who has studied Spanish and has then traveled to Latin-America for business, diplomatic, or teaching purposes, finds in many cases not only that his command of Spanish is deficient, but that he knows little or nothing of the ideas and culture of the peoples with whom he has to work.

Elbert Covell College attempts to break that serious language barrier. Latin-American students with no knowledge whatsoever of English will be eligible if their academic standard warrants their acceptance. When English proficiency permits, the Latin-American may, if he chooses, take part or all of his continuing education in other schools of the university. Those North American students who seek functional proficiency in Spanish will take courses in the ever-increasing amount which their ability permits. The Spanish language will be the medium for communication, information, and acquaintance.

Spanish is the key which opens the door for the Latin-American who wants or needs his education in his own language. It is the key which also opens the door to the Inter-American studies program for the North American student.

Elbert Covell College has many important objectives. Among them are these:

1. To give our neighbors to the south the highest quality of educational and technical knowledge in their own language.

2. To encourage them, if they so choose, to take part of their general program in the English-speaking divisions of the university, when proficiency in English permits.

3. To give North American students unquestioned superior training in Inter-American relations, fluency in the Spanish language, Latin-American Area studies, North American Area studies, major and minor fields of specialization.

4. To give students from both Americas the opportunity to study and live together, to represent well their cultures to each other, and to accept the responsibility of understanding each other.

5. To make available on an Inter-American plane the traditionally sound educational training inherent and developed in the North American liberal arts program of advanced education.

From the day of its announcement, the success of Elbert Covell College

was assured. Press, radio, magazines, governments, foundations, the Church, all hailed the innovation as important, historic, politically and educationally significant. Articles dealing with the program appeared in newspapers across America, in Mexico, and in Spanish-language publications throughout South America. The Spanish-language edition of Rotary Magazine carried a full-length illustrated feature article on the college and its importance in international relations.

The diplomat in whose home the idea was born came to the university last June to officially announce, *urbi et orbi*, the imminent opening of the college. Ambassador Woodward, now representing us in Madrid, flew to Stockton to deliver the commencement address and to emphasize the great importance of the new institution to Inter-American relations and understanding. In a Washington stop-over, President Kennedy was informed of the event and sent a heart-warming message. Said the President:

> I send my warmest congratulations to the President, the Regents, the faculty and all the students, the alumni, and supporters and benefactors of the University of the Pacific on the occasion of the establishment of the Elbert Covell College. This new college—which, I understand, will offer four years of academic courses all taught entirely in the Spanish language—opens up new vistas of enlightened international relationships between the people of the United States and the 160 million or more people in 19 Spanish-speaking nations.
>
> The cause of peace—which we are pursuing in the Alliance for Progress—requires the intimate understanding and the ability to communicate which are enhanced immeasurably by expert knowledge of this great language. Moreover, the student who can explore the wealth of culture, art, history and human experience which is recorded in the Spanish language, can greatly enrich the lives of his fellow citizens in our own country.
>
> We shall all look forward to watching the progress of Elbert Covell College, and I am confident that, in a few short years, we shall be hearing much of the achievements of its graduates.

Later in the year, on the occasion of Mexico's observance of her independence, the Mexican Government in the name of the President, Adolfo Lopez Mateos, having been informed of the nature and outreach of the new college, made a contribution to Pacific's Irving Martin Library of more than 3,000 books written by Mexican authors and printed in Spanish. Other books and works of art have since been contributed by individuals and governments of South America. Building on such a valuable foundation, Rotary Clubs all over Latin America will be contributing books from their respective countries to the material future Covell students will need for their study and research. Certainly this is a veritable cultural alliance for progress.

This is only the beginning. As Pacific's beautiful campus expands across the Calaveras, as new needs arise, as funds become available, as others catch the vision, more colleges will be opened here—each filling its particular need, each distinctive in its own right, each based on academic excellence. The College of Physicians & Surgeons in San Francisco, newest acquisition to the university structure, is one of the most outstanding dental schools in America.

It ranks with Pacific's other older schools in academic stature—the historic School of Music, the School of Education, School of Pharmacy, College of the Pacific, School of Engineering, and School of Graduate Studies.

Times demand the "uncommon man." World situations challenge Christian civilization. Education today must teach more than knowledge and skills. It must foster dignity and respect for self, a sense of the value of personal and political freedom, a desire to take necessary risks and a responsibility to causes that enrich life. Students must dare to be religious when religion is scorned, and must be stirred by the American dream and the grand design for democracy. To such goals Pacific is committed. Under such a banner her future seems bright.

"The heights by great men reached and kept
Were not attained by sudden flight;
But they, while their companions slept,
Were toiling upward in the night."

POPULAR HISTORY (FACETIA)

Continued from page 3

history is by Will Durant. His first volume, *The Life of Greece,* immediately captivated the mass readership of this country.[10] Today, as authors of history, we can strive to invigorate history and attempt to follow the patience of Confucius, "I await perfection with my finished book."[11]

10. The first volume of the projected series, *The Story of Civilization,* was issued in 1935, entitled, *Our Oriental Heritage.*

11. See: Hopkins, L. C. (trans.), *The Six Scripts or The Principles of Chinese Writing,* by Tai T'ung. Amoy, 1881. pp. 60-61. The above is typically misrepresented and misquoted. The correct statement is from *Liu shu ku,* and Tai T'ung wrote: "Were I to await perfection, my book would never be finished, so I have made shift to collect the fruits of my labors as I find them." He continues with a relevant quotation from Confucius.

"The mediaeval manuscripts were sometimes 'poor copies.' Today, with the miracle of the printing press we can all possess works with unfounded statements." (By an unknown editor.)

THE IMPACT OF NAPOLEON III UPON THE PACIFIC COAST

By WILLIAM LAWRENCE SHAW

"J'ai approuvé votre conduite . . ."[1]

PART I

I. INTRODUCTION

With the above comment, Napoleon III, Emperor of the French, expressed for his Imperial self and the Cabinet, approval of the action of the French military leaders in Mexico in the campaign against the Mexican republican forces beginning in April, 1862, when an assault was made upon a small Mexican unit under the command of Porfirio Dias at El Fortin. This began active military operations in behalf of Imperial France which did not conclude until final French withdrawal from Mexico in 1867.

In this study, we shall consider the background of French involvement in Mexico leading to active intervention from December 1861 until 1867. French overtures in California from 1840 until 1861 will be noted. The effect upon California of the attempt to place Prince Maximilian of Austria upon a throne in Mexico will be discussed. From 1861-1867, French warships operated off the California and Mexican coasts necessitating considerable surveillance by the United States Navy Squadron of the Pacific. The cause of Maximilian weakened after a cessation of civil war hostilities in April, 1865, following the collapse of the Confederacy in North America. Ultimately, Benito Juarez was victorious and constitutional government was restored to the Republic of Mexico. The State of California had an immediate and overwhelming interest in the course of the French intervention and the ultimate overthrow of Maximilian in the nation immediately south of California.

II. BACKGROUND OF FRENCH INVOLVEMENT

After considerable difficulty over the issue of reparations due to Royal France as a result of Mexican depredations suffered by French subjects, a French Squadron arrived off Vera Cruz in March 1838, and delivered an ultimatum to the shore authorities demanding the payment by April fifteenth of the sum of $600,000 in settlement of reduced claims. Satisfaction not being given by Mexico, Admiral Bazoche declared diplomatic relations suspended and certain ports under blockade. While the resulting blockade reduced Mexican revenue, there was no gain in payment to France. On November 27, 1838, the French fleet opened fire upon San Juan De Ulua

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destroying the fortifications and inflicting heavy casualties. The French took possession of the fortress on November 28, 1838, and war was declared by the Mexican Congress. Vera Cruz was occupied on December 5, 1838, the Prince de Joinville, a son of King Louis Philippe of France, leading a landing party. The English offered mediation, and a treaty and convention was signed between Mexico and France on March 9, 1839. In a sense, France achieved an expensive victory as trade with Mexico fell off sharply for a number of years.[2]

France, like Britain and the United States, cherished ambitions to annex the vast undeveloped area of California. In 1840-1842, Eugene de Mofras, a young attaché of the French Embassy at Madrid, was sent to Mexico on a special mission to tour the Pacific Coast area above Lower California. Starting in May 1840, Mofras visited Northern Mexico, and in 1840 arrived at Monterey on the California Coast. In June, Mofras met General Vallejo at Sonoma, and thereafter visited Sutter's Fort with side trips to San Jose and Santa Cruz. In January 1842, the explorer-diplomat was at San Diego.[3] Mofras declared on his return to France that a "French Protectorate offers to California the most satisfactory way of escape from the dangers that threaten its future."[4]

Essentially, France entertained no hostile aspirations for California, but, rather, in common with other European nations, was interested in the commercial opportunities arising in the development of this virgin country.

California became a province of Mexico in 1823. Inevitably, an immigration of settlers resulted of whom the most conspicuous was John A. Sutter, a native of Baden, who became a naturalized Swiss citizen, subsequently arrived in San Francisco in July 1839, and established himself near the junction of the Sacramento and American Rivers.[5]

Pio Pico was Governor of California, dating from the Treaty of Cahuenga, February 22, 1845, and Jose Castro became Commander General.[6] In October 1845, Thomas O. Larkin was appointed confidential agent of the United States charged to protect American interests in California and to thwart any prospects of undue extension of European interests.[7]

In April 1846, a military junta headed by Pico and Castro acted at Monterey. Although the authorities are conflicting, there is reason to believe that the junta considered the likelihood of moving for California's independence from Mexico, as well as any advantages in an annexation or a protectorate in any one of the three: United States, Britain, or France. Castro argued for seeking Royal French protection while Pico favored that of England. General M. G. Vallejo urged the interests of the United States. Nothing specific was determined, and the outbreak of the Bear Flag Revolt on June 14, 1846 at Sonoma led eventually to permanent occupation by the United States in 1847-1848.[8]

Louis Napoleon became Emperor of France in 1852 when France was converted from a Republic to an Empire. In the 1853 session of the California

Legislature, a resolution was introduced by Assemblyman G. Blake, disapproving of the circumstance that federal, state, and municipal officers of California gave a banquet in San Francisco in honor of the accession of Louis Napoleon in France. The resolution expressed regret that Americans holding high official station with a free and independent people could exult over the downfall of republicism and the triumph of monarchy in France. The resolution was disapproved. Subsequently, Mr. Blake gained the passage of another resolution condemning the action of federal and municipal officers in extending a banquet to Patrice Dillon, French Consul at San Francisco. The resolution was adopted by a 35-20 vote in the Assembly, but, in the Senate, by an 11-10 vote, was postponed indefinitely from consideration.[9]

A keen observer in California in the 1850's was *J. A. Moerenhout, French Consul* to this state, who wrote from Monterey in a dispatch, dated October 18, 1856, to the French Foreign Minister with regard to the increasing difficulties developing between the northern and the southern states. M. Moerenhout commented:

"The state of California is less interested in these debates than any other state in the Union. It feels that slavery is an impossibility here, for the simple reason that it would be more detrimental than useful . . . As emigrants from all states of the Union and from all the nations of the earth have formed in California a medley of workers, the question of slavery is much less likely to be agitated or to create animosities, for we have here only a small number of abolitionists or of men from the South interested in maintaining and extending slavery."[10]

M. Moerenhout concluded that if war ensued and a separation of the American states resulted, California "would venture its independence."

President James Buchanan, 1857-1861, was particularly aware of the danger of European involvement arising from the undesirable condition of affairs linked to the series of governments in Mexico. Moore has written that *Buchanan did not apprehend interference in Mexico from any sovereign except Napoleon III.* It was that ruler's known policy to seek new colonies for Imperial France, and his ministers had extensive dealings with the Conservative-Clerical Party in Mexico. Accordingly, President Buchanan watched the overtures of Napoleon in Central America "with constant vigilance, under the conviction that should (the Emperor) attempt to colonize the whole or any portion of Mexico, this would almost necessarily involve the United States in a war (with Napoleon III) in vindication of the Monroe doctrine."[11]

In his Second Annual Message to Congress, December 6, 1858, President Buchanan dwelt at length upon the grave and troubled situation in Mexico. He concluded that it would be vain for the United States to attempt to enforce payment in money of the claims of American citizens then in excess of $10,000,000 as Mexico "is destitute of all pecuniary means to satisfy those demands." Buchanan held out the hope that should the constitutional party of Benito Juarez prevail and his authority be established, a less unfriendly spirit toward the United States might ensue. Buchanan favored the assump-

tion by the United States of a temporary protectorate over northern Chihuahua and Sonora until a stable national government might come into existence in Mexico.[12]

The Third Annual Message, December 19, 1859, stated that there was no improvement in the affairs of Mexico. The "constitutional government (Juarez) has evinced a strong desire to do justice." On *April 7, 1859, Mr. Robert McLane of Maryland presented his credentials to President Juarez*, thus extending recognition to that government.[13]

On December 3, 1860, the Fourth Annual Message stressed that two recent decisions in France recognized that a Frenchman who became a naturalized citizen of the United States was not subject to military service in the French Army if he visited France. Relations with Mexico were defined as "most unsatisfactory." *Systematic injustice, cruelty and oppression were attributed to the Miramon Government* which was waging civil war against that of President Juarez recognized by the United States. The Miguel Miramon faction had prevented the Juarez government from functioning at Mexico City. If the incompetent Miramon elements should be overthrown, then "European Governments would (be) deprived of all pretext to interfere in the territorial and domestic concerns of Mexico. We should thus have been relieved from the obligation of resisting, even by force should this become necessary, any attempts by these Governments to deprive our neighboring Republic of portions of her territory—a duty from which we could not shrink." The President praised the Attorney General for the measures adopted by him for the defense of the government against numerous, unfounded claims to land in California made by the Mexican Government previous to the treaty of cession.[14]

Representative Samuel S. Cox of Ohio on March 19, 1860, before Congress, praised the circumstance of recognition of the Juarez Government by the United States which would tend to "foil every attempt of the European alliance to control the affairs of Mexico." He went on that since 1824, Mexico had experienced 35 governments and 72 executives, and concluded that "we could permit no European nation to take possession of Mexico without dishonor."[15]

The outcome of the presidential election of November 1860 led to considerable unrest in California. Although Abraham Lincoln received but one-third of the votes cast in California, a split within the Democratic Party gave Lincoln, the minority candidate, the four electoral votes of the state. Of 119,868 votes cast, Lincoln polled 38,734, Douglas 38,023, Breckenridge 33,975, and Bell 9,136.[16]

The prediction of French Consul Moerenhout in 1856 was vindicated. In the division of political sentiment, *California was indeed a border state*[17] *and definitely abolition was not popular.*[18]

Distant 3000 miles from Washington, almost a sense of isolation prevailed in California. Governor Milton S. Latham declared in his Inaugural Address,

January 9, 1860: "All attempts to introduce into our Legislative Halls, discussions upon national political topics, should be frowned upon and discouraged."[19]

Lincoln's election set off agitation in California for the establishment of an independent republic on the Pacific Coast. Congressman John C. Burch urged that California, Oregon, New Mexico, Washington and Utah should proclaim a Republic of the Pacific.[20]

Congressman C. L. Scott on December 21, 1860, likewise supported the creation of a separate republic on the Pacific slope.[21] Senators William J. Gwin and Latham asserted in the United States Senate that "if the Union was broken up, the eastern boundary of the Pacific republic would be the Sierra Madre and the Rocky Mountains." Senator Latham declared: "We have resources not possessed by any other State of the Union, while our population comprises the most enterprising and energetic men of the country."[22]

What were the motives of Napoleon III in so far as we may seek to reconstruct his reasoning? 1. The United States was committed to a desperate civil conflict and was not in a position to do other than remonstrate with European aggressors. 2. Napoleon might obtain valuable Confederate assistance, or, at least, tolerance towards his projects for the extension of French influence in Central America and on the Pacific Coast. 3. The Mexican adventure would divert and distract the French people at home from a close scrutiny of Napoleon's government. 4. A throne created in the Americas and accepted by a Hapsburg prince would please certain European elements including the Emperor of Austria. 5. Maximilian would become obligated to Louis Napoleon and might pose no objection to French acquisition of Sonora and other areas. 6. The growing authority and power of the United States in the New World conceivably would be offset by a Latin resurgence in Spanish-speaking America.[23]

III. THE COURSE OF INTERVENTION, 1861-1867

"The weak have no rights, the strong no obligations"[24]

The purpose of this writing is not to trace the pattern of the Imperial French Military Campaigns in Mexico over a period of six years. Rather, we are concerned with the *causes* of the intervention and the impact of Napoleon III upon Mexico and the Pacific Coast.

On July 17, 1861, the Congress of Mexico enacted a law which suspended all foreign payments for two years.[25] This led Dubois de Saligny, the French Minister to Mexico, to break off diplomatic relations.[26] The suggestion of a French intervention had been made by M. de Saligny on April 18, 1861, when he wrote:

"In the state of anarchy, we might say of social decomposition, in which we find this unfortunate country, it is very difficult to foresee the turn events will take. One thing seems certain to me: it is impossible to remain in *statu quo*. Everything indicates that we are approaching a new revolution. In this situation it seems to be absolutely necessary for us to keep a material force upon the Mexican coast sufficient to protect our

interests under all circumstances. It is only a question of a protective demonstration, somewhat negative, as is plainly to be seen, that diverts intervention rather than invites it."[27]

Saligny wrote again on June 12, 1861. With the United States involved in a civil war, his concept of *"negative protection" now included affirmative action* against Mexico. "I believe," said Saligny, "more than ever in the necessity of taking immediate precautions to put ourselves in a condition to support by force, in case of need, the justice of our claims."[28]

A year previously, Señor D. J. Pacheco of Spain arrived at Vera Cruz on May 23, 1860, and conferred with French Minister De Gabriac soon departing for France. Pacheco and De Gabriac reached an accord, and Pacheco wrote on May 25, 1860:

"He (De Gabriac) will be able to exercise a salutary influence in the counsels of the Emperor. He has maintained and will maintain that a concerted intervention of England, France, and Spain, or at least of the last two powers, is necessary to solve the gravest question of the future, the question of the supremacy, not only in America, but in the entire world, of the expanding and unrestrainable people who occupy the north of the new hemisphere."[29]

The British Minister to Mexico, George B. Mathew, on May 12, 1861, counseled Lord John Russell to resort to armed intervention.[30]

Calderon Collantes, Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, advised Paris and London on September 6, 1861, that the Captain-General of Cuba was preparing military operations against Vera Cruz and Tampico, and that if France and England would not participate, Spain would proceed alone.[31] Lord Russell then assented to intervention on the condition that (a) the United States should be invited in the joint enterprise, and (b) the intervenors should not interfere with the Mexican internal government.[32] The United States declined to join.

A Convention of the three powers was signed at London on October 31, 1861. Article II provided that no signator-power should seek "any acquisition of territory, nor any particular advantage, nor exercise in the affairs of Mexico any influence tending to abridge the right of the Mexican nation to freely decide upon and establish the form of its government."[33]

The expeditionary force was initially composed of 3,000 French, 6,000 Spanish, and 700 English Marines with a strong accompanying naval force. The Spanish fleet first arrived at Vera Cruz on December 14, 1861, and within four days disembarked and entered Vera Cruz. The French and British forces arrived on January 7, 1862, and promptly landed. Discord existed from the outset among the powers. The English adhered rigorously to the London Convention. Spain followed a "wait and see" policy. Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Graviére's instructions, November 11, 1861, concluded: "The French Government admits that it may become necessary to advance the troops to Mexico City." Further, *Jurien was directed not to discourage any efforts of the native population to create a new government,*[34] and was in-

formed confidentially of the possibility of a monarchical movement in favor of Prince Maximilian.

President Juarez relied upon an ultimate influence of the United States in his behalf.[35]

Juarez was assured by President Lincoln that on the landing of European soldiers in Mexico, the United States Government would render Mexico such aid as could be spared.[36]

At Soledad on February 23, 1862, a Convention was executed between the three allies and Mexico[37] providing for negotiations to adjust the claims of the three intervenors.

In mid-April 1862, the French in effect repudiated the Soledad Convention, and the British and Spanish forces evacuated Vera Cruz and other points.[38] Juarez ordered all men, aged 21-60 years, to take up arms after the French attack at El Fortin and war was pursued vigorously.[39]

Exclusive of Mexican Imperial forces, the European troops in Mexico by June 25, 1865, totaled:

38,493 French and 5,724 horses
6,545 Austrians and 1,409 horses
1,325 Belgians

46,363 Europeans and 12,482 horses[40]

On June 12, 1863, the French forces of General Elie Forey entered Mexico City. On June 16, 1863, Forey by decree silenced the press and set up a Junta of 35 members to nominate a regency of three persons to govern Mexico.[41] General, later Marshal, Forey was recalled to France in October 1863, and was replaced by General François Bazaine as Commander in Chief. Napoleon III wrote a letter to General Forey, dated July 3, 1862, indicating a purpose to *create in Mexico a powerful Latin nation to offset the United States of America* in the new world. The letter is Exhibit A of this article.

On November 20, 1862, Lincoln issued his famous order "that no arms, ammunition or munitions of war be cleared or allowed to be exported from the United States until further order."[42] It was at this time that Secretary Seward ruled that the French Army could export contraband for use of the Army in Mexico from New Orleans and New York in the instance of mules and wagons for transporting cannon and provisions. On December 15, 1862, Seward advised M. Romero, the Mexican Minister, that merchandise allowed to clear for the French might also be cleared for Mexican use.[43]

On October 3, 1863, at Miramar, a Mexican deputation under D. Guiterrez de Estrada offered a crown to Archduke Maximilian of Austria who formally accepted on April 10, 1864.[44] Maximilian and Carlota, his Empress, landed at Vera Cruz on May 28, 1864.[45]

The tragedy inherent in Napoleon's placement of the impressionable Maximilian as puppet emperor upon a throne in the New World is perhaps best foretold in "Die Presse" of Vienna, August 11, 1863, reported by American

Minister J. Lathrop Motley to Secretary of State Seward,[46] Exhibit B of this writing.

Essentially, the cost of the invasion of Mexico and the overthrow of organized opposition from the Juarez forces was borne by Napoleon III. Maximilian executed the Convention of Miramar with Napoleon on April 10, 1864, providing for the preliminary reduction of French forces to 25,000 men and for payment by Maximilian of the expenses of the French expedition which were funded at 270,000,000 francs to July 1, 1864. After that date, the maintenance of each French soldier was set at 1,000 francs a year payable by the Mexican government.[47]

Napoleon cast covetous eyes upon the state of Sonora and requested Maximilian to ratify a lapsed agreement made between M. Monthalon of France and Señor Luis de Arroyo acting for the Regency which preceded the Empire in Mexico. This agreement had contemplated the session of Sonora to France. Maximilian, to his credit, declined to cede away Mexican territory to Napoleon.[48]

The close of the American Civil War gave an incentive to many Confederate dissidents to migrate to Mexico. Colonization became prominent as a policy of the Imperial Mexican Government with especial inducements being offered to refugees from southern United States. Linked closely with this scheme was former Senator Gwin of California who had served in the United States Senate until 1861. Ex-Senator Gwin had departed from California after hostilities began in 1861. For a time, Gwin officially represented the Confederacy at the Court of Napoleon III.[49] *Gwin proposed a semi-independent settlement of Confederates in Sonora* and Napoleon voiced full approval. Slidell, accredited as unofficial observor to the Court of Napoleon III, wrote on June 2, 1864, to Confederate Secretary of State Benjamin:

> "Ex-Senator Gwin is on his way to Mexico. His object is to colonize Sonora with persons of southern birth or proclivities residing in California. He bears an autograph letter from Louis Napoleon to the French commander in Chief warmly recommending his enterprise."[50]

This led Seward to state in positive terms that the establishment of intransigent southerners in Sonora near the United States border could not be condoned.[51]

In June-August 1861, before the European intervention, permission was granted by the Juarez government for United States troops to march through Sonora en route to Arizona.[52] This was an extremely provident investment in good will by the Juarez elements and was amply repaid in the years to follow.

In September 1864, in the face of serious military reverses, President Juarez crossed over the international border and found refuge in the United States. Juarez has been likened to a "modern Alfred"[53] in his operations in northernmost Mexico in the face of almost insurmountable difficulties to keep aglow the flame of resistance to the imperialist invaders.

There is reason to conclude that *Juarez crossed the American border on*

several occasions. General James H. Carleton of the "California Column" fame[54] invited instructions from the War Department on August 14, 1865, as to what should be done with a fugitive President.[55] General Carleton was then informed officially that the United States was not a party to an extradition treaty with or concerning Mexico which would necessitate a surrender of a belligerent to his adversaries.[56]

EXHIBIT "A"

LETTER BY NAPOLEON III, JULY 3, 1862, TO GENERAL FOREY

My dear General:

There will be people to ask you why we waste so many men, and spend so much money, in establishing a regular government in Mexico.

In the present state of the civilized world, the prosperity of America is not indifferent to Europe, for America supports our manufactories and keeps alive our commerce. We are interested in keeping the United States a powerful and prosperous republic; but it will not be interesting to us if it takes possession of the whole of the Gulf of Mexico, and governs the West Indies and South America, thus controlling the entire produce of the New World. We now see by sad experience how precarious an industry is which is compelled to seek its raw material in a single market, the changes of which so seriously effect it (cotton).

Now if Mexico preserves its independence and maintains the integrity of its territory; if a firm government is established there by the aid of France, we shall give to the Latin race beyond the ocean its ancient strength and power; we shall have guaranteed the security of our own and the Spanish colonies in the West Indies; we shall have extended our benevolent influence to the centre of America, and that influence, while it makes a market for our fabrics, secures us the material indispensable to our manufactures.

Mexico, thus regenerated, will ever be favorable to us, not only from gratitude, but also because its interests will coincide with ours, and because it will find a support in its relations with European powers.

NAPOLEON

(Niox, op. cit. at 212 et seq.)
(Detroyat, op. cit. at 167 et seq.)

EXHIBIT "B"

EXTRACT FROM "DIE PRESSE," VIENNA, AUGUST 11, 1863

We . . . believe that we are a faithful organ of the opinion of the Austrian people when we say without concealment, that the acceptance of the crown by the Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian would not be looked upon by any of them as a piece of good fortune, but, on the contrary, they would look

upon it as an evil destiny. An evil destiny, we say, for it would be nothing else if an Austrian prince should ever seriously think of accepting a crown from the hands of a Napoleon. In the deepest humility of Germany by the forcible dominion of Napoleon I, we find nothing similar to this; and shall constitutional Austria bear today what absolute Austria was too proud to endure? And what sort of a crown is this? Without any plausible reason, treading underfoot those liberties of the people, of which they are always speaking, the French soldiers have broken into Mexico, and after shedding streams of blood, they have occupied the Mexican capital followed by the curses of a people hitherto proud of its independence. And shall a crown of tears and blood, conquered in this forcible manner, be placed upon the head of a prince of constitutional Austria, perhaps as an indemnity for the pearl which in 1859 was broken from Austria's crown, or as a present to keep us unharmed in case of future occurrences of a similar kind? . . .

Have those who play with the thoughts of wrapping themselves in the purple mantle of an Aztec emperor already reflected on the political consequences which would follow Austria's acceptance of the imperial crown? Have they painted to themselves the wretched, dependent relation, the vassalage in which Austria, even assuming that there is no thought of compensation at the bottom of the French offer, that it is dictated by the purest unselfishness, will find itself in regard to Napoleonic France by accepting the Mexican crown? . . . What in the name of heaven has Austria to do in this Mexican gally, it would be bound and exposed to France on all sides for this present of the Danaides, and particularly in regard to Poland it would be made lame and impotent in its political action; it would afford France a pretext for occupying Mexico, as the Pope affords a pretext for occupying Rome, it will have engaged its honor for specific French speculations, without satisfying a single reasonable interest. We already see the moment when the cabinet of Washington, fortified by the Monroe Doctrine, by the alliance of the states of Central and South America, and of the enormous military resources which the end of the civil war will have at its disposition, shall call upon the French in Mexico to leave a continent on which they have no business, and no right to command. Shall Austria, then make war in company with France upon America to uphold and occupy a problematical throne in Mexico? That would be the height of the adventurous, and Austria would have then no alternative than that of a shameful fiasco or that of a vassalage, which would absorb its best powers in the interests of France. . . .

We still hope that the answer of Austria to the proposition of the Mexican Assembly received by way of Paris, will be a decided negation, and that once for all an end be put to an intrigue which has no other aim than to shift the ignominy of the Mexican expedition—that attack on an independent people—from the shoulders of France on those of Austria, had to cover the dirty speculations of the banker Jecker and his worthy associates in France and Mexico, with the brilliant name of an Austrian prince.

(Mr. Motley to Secretary Seward, August 17, 1863, *Dip. Corres.*, 1863, part II, pp. 1005-1007.)

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SIXTEENTH ANNUAL INSTITUTE

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORY FOUNDATION

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

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THE DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

Most thinkers are agreed that history serves no useful purpose unless it is related to contemporary life. Without this close relationship, it may prove to be merely an interesting tale, or an opportunity to eulogize one's ancestors, or friends. Its significance as dynamic writing increases with its "tie-in" to present-day problems.

History in its most comprehensive scope is the story of individuals, of families, of communities, of nations, of institutions of all kinds, of ideas, of beliefs, of successes, of failures, of propaganda, and of countless other things. Obviously, *no* complete historical record ever can be written.

Choices must be made and criteria must be set up for judging these choices. Two common measuring sticks are *popularity* and *age*. Unfortunately, what passes as history during any particular period is likely to be influenced by what people think is popular. How wrong this judgment is, may be illustrated rather easily. If popularity be the measuring stick, then the mass of material which daily pours forth from radios, televisions, and the mediocre entertainment platform must be better history and more important than the combined output of books, magazines, libraries, schools, and colleges. Yet every real thinker knows that 99 and 9/10 per cent of the so-called Hollywood type of production could be "washed down the drain" without appreciable loss to humanity.

Thus, while all of history cannot be written, it is equally true that much of history is not worth recording.

A few words about *age* as a measuring stick for judging the importance of history: The mere fact that a house is old is no reason in itself why an historical plaque should be placed thereon. It may have housed a saloon or gambling den and its *only* purpose in the scheme of pioneer life was one of debasement and retrogression. I contend that its functions as such warrants no equal place in community memories with the pioneer school, church, store, and bank.

A more discerning criterion must be found than popularity or age. May we offer the following as a partial answer.

Generally speaking, did the man, or the building, or the event, or the enterprise play an important part in the growth and betterment of the community?

Even so, the historian having chosen a worthwhile subject must not be limited to the commendable features exclusively. Such writing becomes insipid. If one does not know what obstacles were overcome, he has no way of judging the degree of strength required in the performance of a good act.

Of necessity, history must record some things which are bad and some others which are useless.

Nevertheless, the historian must conform to ideals of honesty and decency, or his output becomes trash, misrepresentation, slanted propaganda. The true historian, then, becomes something more than a recording machine. He becomes an interpreter and a prophet. He senses the aspirations of his community, and interprets acts in accordance with the best thought and feeling of his environment.

Anyone with an iota of reasoning ability knows that things happen along almost any street in the land which cannot be told at the breakfast table. Why should these same things be written in books under the guise that the author is simply recording history? Or that his work is in impeccable English? Or that his book is an artistic masterpiece?

This, then, is a plea for decency, as well as veracity, in the writing of worthwhile history.

A lot has been said about the pioneers, and much of it is pertinent. Here are a few suggestions. Describe them as they were: confident, resourceful, generous, sometimes religious, and often bungling. Paint them truly, but, I urge you, do not represent them as flabby, effeminate, or "goody-goody." They were none of these. They built a colorful, independent, and boastful State, but in the process, too, they wasted irreplaceable natural resources, ruined the principal waterways, and crushed out a poor, defenseless, ignorant race—the California Indians. They did many things for which we can be proud, but they are charged, too, with not a few failings.

The historian who would speak truly of the Pioneer has undertaken a man-sized job. He should not be hampered with ancestor-worship, nor the pernicious habit of quoting from lazy and often inaccurate earlier writers. If his tale be true, he need not worry that his production is not popular. Time rectifies such inequalities. His concern should be that what he writes interprets just a little clearer some phase in the progress of humanity.

So now we come to some of the concrete subjects about which the aspiring historian can write. Short, snappy articles always are in demand by local historical societies. Here are a few: Our First School; Our Local Irrigation Ditch; The Early Country Peddlers; Why the Pioneer Camp Meeting Was Popular; Pioneer Health Conditions and Medicine; Early Social Life in My Community; The Ethnic Roots of My Neighborhood; The Development of Farm Machinery on Our Ranch; The Bicycle in Blanktown; Our Justice of the Peace and His Activities.

Do not worry if you find that Joaquin Murietta side-stepped your community, that no pioneer trail crossed your land, that no duel was fought upon your soil, and no gold was panned from your local creek. Nature has a way of hiding deep her choicest gifts; your ranch may have produced a great man, or a great woman.

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Robert Whitner, Walla Walla, Wash.
Gladys Workman, Scottsburg, Ore.
Edna L. Wright, Healdsburg

PROGRAM

Friday, March 29th

12:00 Annual Meeting, Board of Sponsors
President's Dining Room (Anderson)

President Robert E. Burns, presiding

Report of the Director of the California History Foundation
Reginald R. Stuart

Remarks: Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, Past-Director

Greetings: Prof. J. Randolph Hutchins, Past-Director

1:30 Registration $1.00 — Anderson Social Hall

2:30 Conducted Tour, Pioneer Museum and Haggin Galleries

3:30 Reception and Tea
Courtesy, Board of Trustees and Junior Women's Group

5:30 Registration — Lobby, Grace A. Covell Hall

6:45 The Annual Foundation Banquet — Grace A. Covell Dining Hall

President Robert E. Burns, presiding

Invocation Dr. Philip J. Wogaman

Introduction and Announcements

8:00 Music, *The Universal Language*, Johana Harris

8:30 *Highlights from a Visit to the Friendly Russian People*
Irene D. Paden

9:00 Spring Meeting, Board of Directors — Western Americana Library

Conference California Historical Societies
President Jerry MacMullen, presiding

Saturday, March 30th

7:45 Jedediah Smith Society Breakfast — Anderson North Dining Hall

President Mrs. Hugh C. Tye, presiding

Invocation Reverend Charles A. Woodworth

A Significant Spanish Document, Reverend Don Chase

Greetings from Leland D. Case, Editor of TOGETHER, and the man who first suggested this Society.

Business Meeting. Election of officers

9:30 Civil War Centennial Program — Anderson Assembly Hall

Lt. Col. William Lawrence Shaw, Executive Secretary, California Civil War Centennial Commission, presiding

9:40 *Causes of the Civil War Re-examined*

Dr. Sam Ross, Department of History, Sacramento State College

10:20 *Our Civil War Heritage*

Glenn W. Price, Department of History, University of the Pacific

11:00 Conducted Tour: Raymond and Covell Colleges

Howard G. Bissell, Chairman Board of Architects

12:30 Annual Foundation Luncheon — Raymond College Great Hall

Dr. Malcolm R. Eiselen, presiding

Invocation Reverend Edgar M. Crigler

Greetings Dr. Warren Martin

1:15 Selected Folk Songs, Linda Agee and Bruce Browne

2:00 *Lincoln's Caribbean Colonization Project*

Dr. Walter A. Payne, Raymond College

BOOKS

Members of the Institute are urged to visit the exhibit at the Book Store in the End Zone. Here may be seen and purchased many of the recent books of our various speakers and several local authors.

IDENTIFYING SPEAKERS, ARTISTS, AND PRESIDING OFFICERS

Linda Agee, soprano, "Miss Stockton," 1961, lead role in *Blossom Time*, produced by Oakland Civic Light Opera Company, *et al.*

Howard G. Bissell, Chairman, Board of Architects, University of Pacific.

Bruce Browne, tenor soloist, lead roles *The Messiah*, *HMS Pinafore*, *The Mikado*, *Pirates of Penzance*, *et al.*

Dr. Robert E. Burns, President, University of the Pacific.

Leland D. Case, Editor *Together*, co-founder of The Westerners, donor, Pacific's Jedediah Smith Collection.

Rev. Don Chase, Minister, Author.

Rev. Edgar M. Crigler, Director, Public Relations, University of Pacific.

Dr. Malcolm R. Eiselen, Author, Lecturer, Chairman Department of History and Political Science, University of the Pacific.

Johana Harris, "One of the World's Foremost Pianists."

Dr. Rockwell D. Hunt, Author, Past-director, Calif. History Foundation.

J. Randolph Hutchins, Department of History, University of the Pacific.

Rev. Leon L. Loofbourow, Author, Lecturer.

Dr. Warren Martin, Provost, Raymond College.

Jerry MacMullen, Author, Director Junipero Serra Museum, President of Conference California Historical Societies.

Irene D. Paden, Author, Lecturer, Traveler.

Dr. Walter A. Payne, Department of History, University of the Pacific, Assistant Managing Editor, *Hispanic American Historical Review.*

Glenn W. Price, Department of History, University of the Pacific.

Dr. Sam Ross, Department of History, Sacramento State College.

Lt. Col. William Lawrence Shaw, Attorney, Executive Secretary, Civil War Centennial Commission of California.

Reginald R. Stuart, Director, California History Foundation.

Mrs. Hugh C. Tye, President, Jedediah Smith Society.

Dr. J. Philip Wogaman, Department of Religious Education, University of the Pacific.

Rev. Charles A. Woodworth, Pastor of San Lorenzo Methodist Church.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our sincere appreciation to

Our Hostesses: Mrs. Robert E. Burns, Mrs. Tully C. Knoles, Mrs. Howard G. Bissell, Mrs. Gerald D. Kennedy, Mrs. Eugene A. Fountain, Mrs. Stuart C. Gibbons, Mrs. Margaret Hanna Lang, Mrs. California B. Quint, Miss Vera Withall.

Flower Arrangements: Mrs. Alonzo L. Baker, Miss Alice Saecker, Mrs. Hugh C. Tye.

Our Registrar: Mrs. Mary Kass.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORY INSTITUTE

Your attendance at the California History Institute on March 29th and 30th is a *must* in your year's calendar of events. The Pacific Campus is an ideal setting for a history meeting. It is away from the noise and smog of the city. It is away, too, from parking meters, and meal tips. Here, in a profusion of flowers, shrubs, and trees, the visitor happily feels free to meet old friends and to make new ones. The programs are diversified and thought-provoking.

The impossible has been very nearly achieved by producing a half-dozen meetings without a continual reiteration of the word, *California.* Yet the Golden State's past becomes abundantly apparent in every program. Lincoln's envoy in his colonization project was a Californian. The fact that Lincoln won the entire electoral vote of this state, while the Republicans polled only about one-third of the popular vote was, in itself, a cause of the Civil War. A recent prediction that this state is on its way to become the home of more Negroes than any other commonwealth in the North stresses a part of the heritage of the Civil War. Finally, the message of this oft-quoted California author—our Banquet speaker—may point toward the ultimate solution of the World Crises more surely than all of the double-talk of politicians and diplomats.

We shall find that California is, indeed, a major factor in every program of the Institute.

DO SEND IN YOUR RESERVATION AT ONCE!

CALIFORNIA MISSIONS TOUR

A unique opportunity to visit the twenty-one California Missions in the company of other interested travelers and to study the Spanish period of early California history will be available for the sixteenth consecutive year from April 6 to 13 inclusive. The tour group of thirty-six members will assemble on the campus of the University of the Pacific on the morning of April 6th for this adventure by chartered bus under the leadership of Professor and Mrs. Glenn Price.

From Stockton to Sonoma to San Diego and return, the tour will include all the missions, some of the asistencias, and many other geographical and cultural features. Lectures en route by Professor Price and at the missions by the Franciscan padres will add to the interest.

For a brochure and reservations, write to Elliott J. Taylor, Director of Tours, University of the Pacific, Stockton 4, California.

THE PACIFIC HISTORIAN

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
Stockton 4, California

Issued in February, May, August, and November

Editors { Reginald R. Stuart, Grace D. Stuart, Glenn W. Price

SUBSCRIPTION $3 PER YEAR

FOREIGNERS WRITING OUR HISTORY

Americans read histories of America written by Americans. We are not unique in this—it is true of the citizens of most nations—but as in so many patterns of the post-modern world, what is true elsewhere is more true in the United States.

It is understandable in this age of nationalism, of "sovereign" nation-states, that the separate sections of the segmented human community should be devoted to explaining themselves to themselves, but it is a pity. In addition to the sobering consideration that it serves to continually strengthen the bonds of an obsolete political structure, it is not the best way to get wiser. Talking to oneself is not alway inappropriate, but as a regular way of life it has its inconvenient side; it is extraordinarily difficult to keep the conversation at a high critical level on sensitive matters, and it is not the best way to be irritated, and therefore stimulated, by new ideas.

Most serious students of the American past have discovered that two of the most useful examinations of the United States and its people were written by foreigners: Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited this country in the 1830's and returned to France to give his countrymen his brilliant reflections entitled "Democracy in America"; and Lord Bryce, the British scholar and statesman who gave us his penetrating observations in "The American Commonwealth," published in the 1880's.

The point doesn't need laboring to secure intellectual acceptance, but it had better be labored until the fact changes. The educational and cultural arm of the United Nations has been engaged for several years on a new history of mankind, under the general editorship of Ralph E. Turner, formerly a professor of history at Yale University. In this cooperative work, no historian will write about his own country. The advantage of a foreign frame of reference, with the different angle of vision which comes from a different "climate of opinion," should add to our understanding of the past. We look forward with much anticipation to the products of this grand design.

These thoughts come to mind on noting that the October, 1962, issue of *History Today*, the excellent British journal of general history published in London and edited by Peter Quennell and Alan Hodge, carries an article by Gerald Rawling entitled: "The Trail-Breaker: Jedediah Smith, Hero of the American West."

Mr. Rawling, a well-known British scholar on American frontier history, observes that it is "a little surprising" that Jedediah Smith has been less of a frontier celebrity, in the current popularity of the subject, than Buffalo Bill, Wyatt Earp, or Billy the

Kid, for, he says: "Jedediah Smith was certainly the top-ranking mountain man of his day and probably the greatest of all time, factors that by themselves should ensure lasting fame in the story of the West; but he was something more than an outstanding fur trader; and, as an explorer of the American West, he stands second only to Lewis and Clark."

Jedediah Strong Smith was so long without honor among historians here at home, simply through "ignorance, madam, sheer ignorance," that it is good to have the independent historical judgment of a foreigner brought to bear. American students of the West will, we hope, attempt to escape from their provincial views by reading a scholar from outside the province. It might lead on to the breaking of a bad habit which has long been identified as a contributor to a prevalent infantile disorder in the international community.

—G. W. P.

CUMULATIVE INDEX

At long last the CUMULATIVE INDEX for Volumes I to V inclusive, of the *Pacific Historian* has been mailed to subscribers. It is available to others at $2.00 per copy. We are all most appreciative of the vast amount of tedious work which went into the preparation of this indispensable index. Thank you, Miss Hilda E. Bloom!

CONGRATULATIONS, MRS. SWEET!

Nature lovers will find that *Common Edible and Useful Plants of the West* written by Muriel W. Sweet is a delightful handbook for students and hikers. We understand that the price is $1.00 per copy and can be obtained from the publisher, Naturegraph Company, Healdsburg, California.

CONTEMPORARY BIOGRAPHY

The Eugene F. Fountain Family

By DOROTHY TYE

When Mrs. Eugene F. Fountain was handed the president's gavel of the Humboldt County Historical Society, she glanced at her husband and a smile passed between them. Ten years before he had been made a member of the American College of Dentists, and in 1952 had been elected to membership in the Honorary Dental Society, Omicron Kappa Upsilon by Delta Delta Chapter; also, in 1927 he had been elected the first president of the Arcata Kiwanis Club. This, now, was an honor for the feminine half of a couple given much to historical research and the generous presentation of popular picture-slide programs.

Their marriage, in 1915 at Blue Lake, gave scant indication of their historically rich backgrounds. They had little to show the world aside from the romantic independence of young love. Without any means of support, except the little which pride permitted them to accept from their parents, they went to San Francisco for the three years that Eugene would attend dental college. There, it was scarcely apparent from their economical surroundings in the Mission District, that Eugene was descended from the Huguenot Fontaine family which first fled to England from France, and in the eighteenth century came to Virginia where later one member, Mather Fontaine Maury, was elected to the Hall of Fame as a result of research in the field of oceanography. (Members of the family who moved to Missouri in the 1880's and to Oregon in 1852 dropped the French spelling of the name.)

Yet during the early penniless years of his marriage, Eugene achieved a somewhat special renown of his own. One day a neighbor lady said admiringly to Susie, "Your husband must be an awfully kind man. I've never once heard him beat you." Susie could have boasted that he had been accepted into the same college from which his father had graduated, and that he had soon been made a part-time instructor in the laboratory courses as a result of the practical experience he had received in his father's office. But she accepted the compliment with the same level-headedness with which she was working at being a frugal housewife. In 1918 Dr. Eugene Fountain took his family home to Blue Lake, the place chosen long before by their ancestors.

It was through interesting circumstances that Susie, born in 1892, a graduate of the University of Nebraska, and a Phi Beta Kappa, came to the spacious home she and her husband still occupy, and where their children and eight grandchildren frequently visit them. Her father, Leon Baker, had come west to Lincoln, Nebraska, to make his fortune in the 1880's. There he met and married the daughter of Joseph Wittman, a prosperous manufacturer of leather goods when saddles, harness, et cetera, were necessities. In 1912 Mr. Baker retired from business and took his family, consisting of his wife and three children, to California in search of an equable climate. They settled in Blue Lake, where later Susie was married to Eugene.

Eugene's grandfather, Joseph Fountain, had moved from Missouri to Oregon in 1852 and helped develop the great Willamette Valley. After a move to Idaho, he returned to the coast in 1883 and took up a homestead on Hunter's Creek, near Requa in Del Norte County where he lived for fifteen years. As a youth, Joseph's son Matthew, carried mail by horseback from Crescent City to Johnston's on the Klamath. After marriage, Matthew and his wife, Lillian Trumble, lived in southern Oregon. Eugene, their only child, was born in 1892 at Althouse, Josephine County. Soon after that, Matthew brought his family to Humboldt County and eventually put himself through the College of Physicians and Surgeons in San Francisco (now affiliated with the University of the Pacific), graduating in 1902. He opened his first dental office in Blue Lake and there, today, his son, Eugene, is still a practicing, much-beloved dentist.

Over and beyond the interesting fact that both Eugene and Susie spring from sturdy pioneer stock, is the fascinating picture of a charming couple, still very much in love with each other, but sufficiently versatile to include the whole neighborhood in their affections. Eugene tried to retire from his professional practice, but his clients would have none of it. Susie deprecates her ability as an historian, but Humboldt County quotes her writings from the ocean to the mountains. May their days be long and their shadows lengthen with the years!

REUEL COLT GRIDLEY AND HIS SACK OF FLOUR

By GLENN A. KENNEDY

Thomas Gridley came from England to America in 1630, just ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims. He settled at what is now Hartford, Connecticut, where the family lived for many generations. Some years later part of the Gridley family moved as pioneers to Hannibal, Missouri, and on the 23rd of January 1829, they welcomed a new son, Reuel Colt Gridley. This was the place that he knew as a boy and a youth. Perhaps he matured rather quickly since Samuel Clemens (six years his junior) later stated that Reuel was an elderly pupil in the local school, twenty-two or twenty-three years old, while in fact he was only seventeen.

About that time the Mexican War got under way and Reuel Gridley volunteered. After the war his travels took him to Louisiana where he married Miss Susan Snyder on September 19, 1850. He came to California in 1852, and two years later moved his family to this State.

In personal appearance he was a commanding individual, being six feet in height, straight, and well proportioned. He attached men strongly to him, and made friends wherever he went. He wore a heavy beard and had dark, brooding eyes that gave the impression he was perpetually worried.

At one time he was prosperously engaged in mining and also tried his hand at conducting a newspaper, and at banking. He apparently got into the mail express business early in 1859 and was possibly the first to offer such a service to the upper regions northeast of Oroville, and into places higher up in the Sierras where there were no regular post offices. In 1860-62 Gridley's Express route operated from Oroville to Honey Lake Valley, California, via Inskip and Humbug Valley. It connected with Wells Fargo and Company's Express at Oroville. For such service Gridley had a franked U.S. 3¢ stamped envelope that cost the sender 25¢ each. The extra 22¢ fee was for Gridley's service.

With the vast silver discoveries in Nevada proclaiming unlimited riches for those who would venture forth, Gridley joined many others who took up the call to the "Territory." He moved to Nevada in 1861, or perhaps not until 1863. He settled in Austin, Nevada, where he operated a general store as the senior member of the firm of Gridley, Hobart and Jacobs. By 1864 they had built up a very prosperous business.

In the spring of 1864, a hundred thousand Union soldiers were lying in hospitals, sick and wounded. They required the careful attention of the Government and the utmost endeavors on the part of the managers of the Sanitary Commission to provide for them those necessities and delicacies which were bestowed alike on those who wore the blue and those who wore the grey, and without which it was estimated that one in five would have perished.

The Government exerted itself to supply food and clothing and money for the soldiers, but the efforts of the Government were for the soldiers in the

field, the men who were able to take the field, the live soldiers who stood on both feet, who had two good arms and who were free from wounds. It is true that provision was made for the sick and wounded and that hospitals and ambulances were maintained for those unfortunates, but there was little provision made for the fallen, or for the care of the dying. There was no provision for sending the soldier's last message to his home, nor for protecting a dead body from the sharks who hovered the battle fields and stripped the dead of their clothing and valuables. Something had to be done to take care of this sad situation.

In 1861 several volunteer relief organizations had been formed for this purpose, among them the Christian Commission, the Freedman's Commission, and the most effective of all, the Sanitary Commission. The Sanitary Commission was organized largely through the efforts of Dr. Henry W. Bellows, a New York clergyman, with the cooperation and support of nearly one hundred influential women of that city. It was commissioned by the United States Government. Though unpopular with government officials at first, the Commission developed rapidly into one of the most effective commissions working in conjunction with the military organizations. Once the need of a service which could not only care for the sick and wounded, but should likewise preserve the morale of the men, became evident, the success of the Commission was assured. By 1863 its value was so well established that General U. S. Grant, commanding the Federal Army, ordered that it should be given every opportunity for increasing its effectiveness.

The Sanitary Commission was the forerunner of the Red Cross in this country, and it is said that the treaty of Geneva in 1864 founding the Red Cross, was very largely the outcome of the practical labors of the Sanitary Commission.

At the time when some Union men in California were paralyzed with dread because of the actions of the South, and others were undecided which way to turn, Thomas Starr King, from pulpit and rostrum, traveled over the State bolstering up the weak-hearted and urging the loyal men to stand firmly for the Union. He considered his country next to his God, and it is conceded that no individual did more to keep California in the Union than did Thomas Starr King.

King was a personal friend and co-laborer in Christian work with Dr. Bellows. In 1862 Dr. Bellows wrote to King asking him to organize branches of the Sanitary Commission in California. He immediately started the movement and in the fall of that year California sent East for suffering soldiers, the sum of $480,000. Contributions came both from those who supported the North, and those who supported the South.

In October 1863, Dr. Bellows telegraphed King: "The Sanitary funds are low. We have already distributed over seven millions of dollars. California has been our main support in money, and if she fails, we are lost." There was no difficulty in obtaining bedding, wearing apparel and other needs for the

sick and wounded, but the Commission did not have the money to move these things from the depots of accumulation to the places where they were needed. California furnished the funds necessary for the central machinery of the Sanitary Commission in transporting these materials to their destinations, to the sick and wounded, the naked and the hungry.

Immediately upon receipt of the telegram from Dr. Bellows, King responded: "We will send you $25,000 a month." King put both body and soul into the work of collecting funds and made good his promise. Although King didn't live to see his good works completed, California contributed over $1,250,000 in gold to the Sanitary Fund and $34,000 to the Christian Fund. The amount was equal to over a million and a half in currency, for nothing but greenbacks was in circulation in the Eastern states. California with her gold helped to save the Union. Of this amount $275,000 was collected by Reuel Colt Gridley. How did Gridley do this?

Like spontaneous combustion, it could never have happened if the conditions hadn't been exactly right. They were absolutely perfect in Nevada. It was April and it was 1864. For one thing, silver was being taken out of the earth faster than it could be spent. Then too, there was the war with the surges of battle rolling up at the front, a very critical time. Miners and millionaires wanted to share in the glory of battle, but few of them were willing to leave the promise of incredible overnight wealth in Austin or Virginia City, to do it. The war would have to wait.

On the morning of April 20, 1864, there was a municipal election in Austin, Lander County, Nevada, of little interest to anybody outside of that place. A matter of apparently trivial consequence transpiring in an out-of-the-way place among the mountains of Nevada, was lifted into a prominent niche in history by the wager of a sack of flour.

Gridley, a War Democrat, although true to the Union, bet Dr. H. S. Herrick, a Republican, that the Democratic nominee for mayor would be elected. The wager was accepted by Dr. Herrick, a county official, and it was agreed if Dr. Herrick lost, he would carry a sack of flour from Clifton to Austin, a mile and a quarter, marching to the tune of "Dixie." If Gridley lost, he was to carry the flour from Austin to Clifton, marching to the tune of "Old John Brown."

Gridley lost, and on that April morning he paid the bet. Political feeling had run high during the election, and the wager and its conditions were known to every man, woman and child in the place. When it came time to pay the debt, one version of the incident relates that a large crowd had gathered at Gridley's store, where he appeared with a sack of flour trimmed with red, white and blue ribbons, and decorated with flags. Presumably the flour was milled in neighboring Humboldt County, and was taken from the regular store stock.

Another version relates that on April 20th most of the population of Austin gathered in front of Gridley's house and demanded to know when he was

going to pay his election bet. He came to the door with the decorated fifty pound sack of flour over his shoulder and said, "Gentlemen, I am ready. I would have been ready days ago, but I had to wait the arrival of this sack of flour from my old friend General John Bidwell at Chico, California, for I believed that none but the very best flour could pay this debt." (General Bidwell operated a flour mill in Chico.)

A band was hastily secured, and a procession formed, consisting of thirty-six men on horseback, headed by the city officials-elect. Then followed ten musicians, Dr. Herrick carrying Gridley's hat and cane, and Gridley bearing the sack of flour, accompanied by his son Amos, a lad of thirteen, who carried a flag. Then came the Democratic City Central Committee; two of them bore banners, one a huge sponge carried on top of a pole, and another a broom. Then followed the long procession of citizens, and last of all a rabble of Indians and boys.

As the procession moved along, spectators cheered, steam whistles were blown, and a general good-feeling prevailed. The occasion was one of merriment, and was characterized by such demonstrations as were typical to the battle-born state and frontier mining settlements. As the band played "John Brown," the followers took up the chorus and sang the "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah" with great strength, if not with perfect melody. Amid the cheers of the spectators came occasional words of encouragement to the bearer of the sack of flour such as, "Stick to it, Gridley." The march lasted nearly half an hour, and Austin, although a lively place, had never known so much good feeling.

When Clifton was reached, the flour was delivered to Dr. Herrick, and by him received in much the same spirit and style that a conqueror manifests when accepting the sword of the conquered. The flag was surrendered and the broom given up in recognition of the fact that the winning party had swept all before it. The sponge was placed beside it, to signify that the winners were entitled to absorb all places of profit and trust in the city, and that the Democrats had temporarily thrown in the sponge. The crowd then adjourned to a neighboring saloon, where conquerors and conquered drank each other's health. Then the proprietors of another saloon invited the crowd in, and again glasses were clinked in Nevada fashion to sentiments of mutual good-will. The question then arose as to what should be done with the flour. Dr. Herrick assured everyone he didn't have any use for it. The Republicans proposed to make griddle cakes of it, to be distributed among the members of their own organization, and declared that not one be given to the Democrats. This led to expressions of patriotism on the part of the Democrats, who declared that they were as friendly to the Union, and ready to do as much, according to their numbers and their means, to carry on the War, as were the Republicans. This was denied. This gave Gridley an idea and he proposed to test the matter then and there. He then spoke as follows:

"This crowd of people has had its fun at my expense; let us see now who will do most for the sick and wounded soldiers. We will put this sack of flour up at auction, and sell it, with the understanding that, whoever the purchaser may be, he shall pay the amount bid, and give the flour back to be sold again for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission."

The proposition was received with demonstrations of approval. A stand was improvised, and the sack of flour placed on it. Gridley then explained to the crowd the conditions of the sale. The local auctioneer was installed as crier, and the sale began. The sack was first purchased by Gridley himself for $300. A Republican then paid $350 for it. The bidding went on with the singular proviso that every person who bid should pay the amount of his bid, and should be considered owner of the sack of flour till someone else bid for it.

Merchants bid against mill-owners, and miners against landlords, each determined that his side should not be beaten. When twenty dollar gold pieces were exhausted, smaller coins were accepted, and when all coin had disappeared, someone bid a town lot. A real estate man at once made a bid in gold for the lot, and it, too, went into the Sanitary Commission fund. Then came bids of scrip and mining stock; such securities as could be converted into money were accepted; all others were rejected even though they represented thousands of dollars. Almost $5,000 was collected.

The procession then re-formed and Gridley, mounted on a spirited horse, and the hero of the hour, having turned defeat for his party into a victory for the sick and wounded soldiers, was escorted home. He immediately sent the money to the Sanitary Commission.

Dr. Bellows, who was in California at the time, subsequently wrote to Gridley:

"The history of your sack of flour is undoubtedly more interesting and peculiar than that of any sack recorded, short of the 'sack of Troy,' and it would take another Homer to write it. I rejoice that you do not carry on your shoulders all of the money it has made.... Allow me to congratulate you on your splendid success in our common cause. If it goes no further, it will make Reece River and Nevada shining parts of the history of our Sanitary Fund on the Pacific."

The history of the sack of flour did not end at Austin, nor in Nevada. About three weeks after it was first boosted on the back of Gridley, and borne into notoriety, came a proposition that it should be taken to Gold Hill and there sold for the Sanitary Commission. Without Mr. Gridley, the sack of flour was just that, so he decided to take the sack of flour to Storey County.

On May 16, 1864, Gridley and the sack of flour arrived at Gold Hill where capitalists, speculators, milling and mining companies, citizens and laborers, all entered into friendly competition in becoming owners, if for but a single second, of that famous sack of flour. When $5,225 had been realized, Gridley mounted the stand, and complimented Gold Hill for outdoing Austin. The procession in Gold Hill had been christened by the editor of the Gold Hill News "The Army of the Lord."

From Gold Hill, although it was raining, a march was made to Silver City, where, due to bad weather, the bidding was limited. Then they went to Dayton, reaching that place late in the afternoon. They then returned to Silver City where bidding started again and more money was collected.

"The Army of the Lord" then went to Virginia City where Mr. Bonner, Superintendent of the Gould and Curry Mine, on behalf of himself and the employees of the mine, started the bidding boom and "raised Austin out of her boots," as he said, by bidding $3,500. Other mines bid, as well as individuals, until a total of $12,995 in coin was contributed on the spot, as well as a great deal of mining stock and a handsome double-barreled gun. Subsequently, the sack was sold and resold all over Washoe County until $22,000 more was added to the fund.

About the same time Sanitary Fairs were being held all over the country to raise funds for the Sanitary Commission. Gridley took the sack of flour to Sacramento and then to San Francisco, selling and reselling it. A Sanitary Fair was held in Stockton on July 4, 1864, and it is said that Gridley attended the fair to auction the sack of flour. Subsequently Gridley took the flour to the East, reaching New York City in January 1865, but he was not very successful there.

Gridley started westward again, doing all of this at his own expense, carrying on the sale and resale, and turning over the proceeds to the Sanitary Commission. The exact amount that resulted from these sales is not known, but it is generally conceded that the total was not less than $275,000. Although the war was nearly over, the work of the Sanitary Commission was not ended, and contributions to its purposes were continued in 1865.

Through his unselfish efforts, Gridley rose from the position of a humble citizen to a distinguished humanitarian. He was, in fact, one of the greatest of the "unarmed heroes" of the War.

As for the sack of flour, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) in his writings states that Gridley took the flour to the Sanitary Fair in St. Louis and on selling it at auction, finally made it into small cakes and sold them at a dollar apiece. There were many "Sanitary Cakes" made and sold for the fund, perhaps influenced by, but not from, the Gridley flour. That particular sack of flour was given to the Nevada Historical Society on October 31, 1914, the 50th anniversary of Nevada's admission to Statehood, by Mrs. Josephine Wood of Modesto, the daughter of Gridley. The fifty pound buckskin bag, still decorated with its ribbons, is on display at Nevada Historical Society Museum in Reno.

Gridley returned to Austin in 1865 from his trip East to find that his business had dwindled to small proportions. He was financially ruined, having expended his entire fortune in the prosecution of his humane task. His health was poor, and he soon found it necessary to leave Nevada for a better and warmer climate. He came to Stockton in 1866 without a dollar, having been brought over the mountains in a bed. He was at that time troubled with neu-

ralgia in his limbs, which gave him great pain. He became affiliated with Henry Sargent in the grocery business on Hunter Street near Main Street.

During his stay in Stockton he was one of the better-known citizens of the city. He was a member of Morning Star Lodge of the Masons, and was a charter member of Stockton Commandery, Knight Templars. He was a man who lived an exemplary life and was greatly esteemed by all who knew him. He had first joined the Methodist Episcopal Church at the age of seventeen in Hannibal. He became a member of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church in Stockton through the ministration of Rev. David Deal. Within the church he held the positions of steward and class-leader, and was always greatly interested in Sabbath schools. He was perhaps too kind-hearted to accumulate wealth; but he grew rich in kindly deeds and Christian grace.

In 1868 he moved to Paradise, Stanislaus County, California, where he operated a general store until the time of his death. He was never well after his arduous sack-of-flour trip, and he suffered greatly during his final illness. Feeling the approach of death, he wrote to Sargent in Stockton, and requested to be buried in Stockton. At the same time he expressed a desire that his funeral service be conducted by the Rev. David Deal of San Francisco, who made a special trip to Stockton for that purpose. The funeral was held on November 26, 1870. As a Mexican War veteran, he was buried in that section of the Rural Cemetery set aside by its trustees in the late sixties for the burial of war veterans.

For many years his grave was marked by but a simple wooden board. Rawlins Post No. 23, Grand Army of the Republic, felt that a debt of gratitude was due this man and in 1882 they decided to erect a monument in his honor, and to accumulate a fund for his family. At the meeting they subscribed $100 as a starter, and decided to call upon the Headquarters Department of California for their help. Unfortunately, the response from the other Posts was very disappointing, and so it fell upon Rawlins Post No. 23, G.A.R., and the citizens of Stockton and San Joaquin County to accomplish their intended purpose.

Various methods were used to raise the money, but one of the most appropriate was the auctioning of miniature sacks of flour at the San Joaquin Pioneer Society picnic at Goodwater Grove (Oak Park) where sixty-four people purchased the sacks. It was not until 1886 that the Post had enough money to proceed with the monument. It was dedicated on September 9, 1887.

In the Civil War Centennial year of 1961, U. S. Grant the 3rd wrote the cemetery trustees stating that the Gridley monument was of special interest to him as chairman of the Civil War Centennial Commission. A letter from the Chief Historian of the U. S. Department of the Interior, in the same centennial vein, reads in part as follows:

"The Gridley story is indeed an interesting one, and the monument is a striking

commemoration of it, as well as a tribute to the spontaneity of the residents of Stockton whose affection for him caused them to erect it. It would seem that the Stockton Rural Cemetery is doing a fine job in maintaining and presenting the story of Reuel Colt Gridley and the Sanitary Commission. We are delighted this is being done and congratulate them upon their efforts."

Today hundreds of people, in all walks of life and from all parts of the nation, come to the cemetery to pay tribute to this great patriot, perhaps to deposit a wreath at the base of the monument, or to thoughtfully read the words carved thereon:

The Soldier's Friend

Reuel C. Gridley
Born January 23, 1829
Died November 24, 1870

Erected by
Rawlins Post No. 23
Grand Army of the Republic
and the Citizens of Stockton
Sept. 9, 1887, in gratitude
for services rendered Union
Soldiers, during the War of
the Rebellion, in collecting
275,000 dollars for the
Sanitary Commission by
selling and reselling a
sack of flour.

Reuel Colt Gridley, "The Soldier's Friend"—an appropriate inscription to a great American.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM BALTIMORE TO SAN FRANCISCO

By Robert Gordon

1849

Edited and Annotated by

REGINALD R. STUART *and* GRACE D. STUART

PART III

Robert Gordon, a native of Northern Ireland and a recent member of the Constabulary Force, finds himself an unwilling participant in the great potato-famine exodus of two million souls. Observant, scholarly, refined, and tolerant, he describes in detail the voyage "around the Horn" in the "good ship Xylon." His obvious experience clarifies the almost-forgotten nautical terms of the mid-nineteenth century.

The niggardly concern and criminal negligence of ship owners, the cheapness of human life, the woeful disregard of safety precautions, and the slowness and lack of dependability of wind navigation are all emphasized in this carefully kept Journal.

The itinerary thus far:

Journey from Baltimore to Rio	52 days
Changing captains, et cetera, in Rio	19 days
From Rio to Valparaiso	63 days

The Diary:

[April] 24th [1849]. This morning at 2 o'clock, the breeze sprang up, and we got out our studding sails. a little before sunrise we were visited by a passing shower, after which the sun rose in splendor from his ocean bed, dispersing the cold mists of the night, and refreshing the face of nature with his now tempered rays. nothing worthy of remark today except the increasing number of the stormy petral, or Mother O'Carey's chickens, with several specimens of the Gull tribe which we have not seen but in these latitudes.

25th. On our course, with light winds, Latitude 5.32°, 07′.

26th. This morning has been ushered in with a stiff N. Wester, running 7 knots, on a S.S.W. course. Lat. at noon 34°, 32′ S. off the River Platte about 250 miles. at 3 o'clock P.M. a gale set in which increased in violence till midnight lashing the ocean to a foaming fury, through which our ship laboured heavily, her decks frequently washed by swells breaking over them, and threatening destruction to everything which happened to intercept this impetuous course. Many of them made their way down the Hatches frightening the timid of the passengers, and doing considerable injury to their freight, and baggage. during one of these fearful dashes of water, a scene of mingled fear and laughter occured. the ladder of the Main Hatch on and around which many of the passengers were clinging, capsized, accompanied by a

general discharge of trunks, mess pans, bottles etc. from Larboard to Starboard, among the prostrate and crawling passengers, which with the noise, and shock of the ship completed the most confused spectacle. when it was ascertained that none was hurt a general burst of laughter followed. in this manner the night was spent, as it was next to impossible to sleep. At 5½ P.M. having previously furled top-gallants and Royal, we found it necessary to shorten sail still more, and commenced running under reefed fore, main and mizen top-sail, and the old ship lay too for the night. during the continuance of this storm we had an opportunity of judging the relative courage of our shipmates. some of them who were in the habit of boasting of their courage being the first to hide their heads, and were known even to cry, some praying some swearing, others singing hymns and mocking their danger by immitating Methodist Prayer meetings—very unseemly conduct in a storm at sea.

27th. The storm somewhat abated, but still violent, and the sea running very high, the ship under double reefed fore-sail, fore, and main stay-sail and spanker. the weather is cold, the decks wet, which together with the rolling of the ship renders it very difficult to maintain a footing, while to go below, is more intolerable in consequence of the suffocating atmosphere of so many persons in such a confined and disagreeable place. This evening the sea became more settled, and we got some sleep tonight, of which we stood in need after the very uneasy time spent in the late storm.

28th. This day we had a light and favorable winds yet the sea works in heavy swells. made very little of our course this two days, being at noon in Latitude 35° 53′ south.

29th Sunday. On our course with tolerable favourable wind. seen a sail this morning to westward, the first we seen for a long time. Sailed awhile this evening at the rate of 9 knots, but had to shorten sail as the night set in squally. The morning service neglected, but the usual evening prayers attended to, this is our thirteenth Sunday from Baltimore.

30th. This morning becalmed. at 10 o'clock A.M. the wind shifted from the S.E. to the S.W. and another storm ensued. Latitude at noon 39°, 43′ South off Patagonia. As if to justify our anticipations, every succeeding storm as we approach Cape Horn, surpasses its predecessor in violence. In this, as in the preceeding, the superior abilities of our officers and crew, united to stability of the Old Xylon, under a favouring Providence, carried us through unscathed and enables us still to ride the surge in safety. Seen some Albatross, and Cape Pidgeons today. The former, so often talked of for its majestic appearance and being an inhabitant of these latitudes, the latter is also peculiar to the latitudes of the Cape, from which they derive their name, they are a beautiful little bird, very like the land pidgeon.

May — 1849 —

1st. The wind is abated, but the sea continues running mountain high. Our ship under close reefed top-sails, she occasionally ships a sea which drenches all on deck, the passengers again fishing for Albatross which crowd about the

ship's course. they succeeded in catching five of them, after loosing some light lines, before they knew their strength. Some of them measured nine feet nine inches, from the extremities of their extended wings. This afternoon has been very changeable, sometimes fair wind, sometimes calm, and sometimes squally.

2nd. The same unfavourable weather that we had yesterday, continues, our ship carrying only as much sail as makes her answer her helm. Our fore-top-sail has been torn in the gale, and other minor injuries done the rigging.

3rd. This weather is little better than a succession of gales, nearly a continuous storm. Latitude S, 41° 42′. We are making very little of our course, as we can carry no more sail, than renders the ship managable. The sea frequently breaks over the decks, which with the squalls, and showers, and the winter cold of the weather, makes us very uncomfortable, to which, impatience of the passengers for being delayed in the pursuit of the object of their voyage adds not a little. In the evening the ship was trimmed to lay-to for the night, as the gale is likely to continue.

4th. The weather is the same as the preceeding days. At 12 o'clock noon, we were in Latitude 41°, 36′ S. Longitude 53° west, having lost six miles of latitude, and about twenty of longitude, since the last observation. The storm having abated considerably, we got some sail, this afternoon but lost more than we gained in the course of the night, in consequence of the wind changing a head.

5th. So true is it that "after a storm comes a calm," We have not a breath of air to fill our sails, and our ship has turned her back on her course, as she is now pointing north. At 12 M. in Latitude 41°, 28′, having lost 8 miles of Lat., But in doing so we made considerable Longitude West in the course of the day a breeze sprung up from the N.E. and in the evening we were running eight knots.

6th Sunday. Running rapidly since yesterday. Last night the wind shifted to the N.W. At meridian, our Lat. was 42°, 53′, S. and had a good run all evening, but in consequence of the uneasy motion of the ship, the usual assemblage for evening Prayer was rendered impracticable. This is our fourteenth Sunday from Baltimore.

7th. Favourable sailing in the forenoon. our Latitude at noon was 43°, 08′, S. In the evening the gale freshened. seen a vessel to the eastward under close reefed top-sails, hove to. passed her in the evening, and lost sight of her during a squally shower. The appearance of the night indicating squalls, we shortened sail, and ran under, fore-sail reefed main top-sail, main-top-stay-sail, and spanker.

8th. Light S.W. wind, running about four knots, Latitude S. 46°, 28′. This day being fine, those of us who got their bedding wet in the late gales, took them up to dry. While doing so, I suffered the loss of my mattress which was blown overboard, a loss which though it be trifling in itself, is a serious inconvenience, in our present circumstances as the means of replacing it is be-

yond my reach; luckly for me, one of my fellow passengers had one to spare which he obligingly gave until I could provide another.

9th. Getting on favourably, propelled by a stiff, N.Wester, at noon our Latitude was 48°, 50′ S. Longitude 57°, 12′ W. There are vast numbers of Porpoises, about our courses, even these are of a different description from those of their species in the North Atlantic. Here their sides, belly and part of their heads are white, and they don't appear to be as longe as those in the Northern Waters. We tried to harpoon some of them, but failed in consequence of the roughness of the sea, and the rapidity of our sailing.

10th. Sailed very well all night, but the wind died off in the morning for a short time, during which we got an indistinct glimpse of the Falkland Islands, and lost sight of them again for a few hours. When the breeze springing up we came in sight of the easternmost of the group. According to our Latitude which was 50°, 51′ south, we must have seen them first, at a distance of about 50 miles. We passed them in the course of the evening at a distance of about 30 miles, leaving them to westward of our course. We could distinctly see their famished looking ridge of snowcapped mountains, running nearly south and north. I went up the fore-top and had a much better view of them than could be obtained from the deck. From aloft I traced the connection of the several elevations of the land, which viewed from the deck, at our distance might be mistaken for seperate islands. In the early part of this night it was found necessary to furl sail have the ship hove to, in consequence of squalls, and head winds.

11th. We are laying to this morning, the wind dead ahead, lost sight of the Islands in the course of the night, the weather very cold, frequent showers of hail sleet and snow. Some Cape Pidgeons caught today, they are of different colors, and web-footed. Lat. S. 52°, 06.

12th. We have been tacking about in the vicinity of the Islands, yesterday, last night, and today. this morning came in sight of them again, running N.W. of them, in the evening we put about and ran S.E. by S. till night, when we hove to again, awaiting a fair wind. today two of the passengers were severely but not dangerously hurt, by the falling of a block from the fore rigging. Lat. at noon, 51° 20′, S. showing a loss since yesterday of 46 miles.

13th Sunday. We are to the N.E. of the Falklands, commenced running south this morning. The weather is more temperate. There are great number of ducks about today, There have been a good many shots fired at them from the vessel and some of them dropped in the sea. There are also some Penguins seen in the vicinity of the islands, a bird which abound in great numbers on these shores. During the evening we passed, on a south course, to the east of Islands, at a distance of about 4 or 5 miles. Their northern extremity was clear of snow but the distant hills and mountains to the south west were all covered.

The usual Sunday evening Prayer meeting was held at the fore-hatch, while at the main-hatch a company composed of both steerage and Cabin

passengers, assembled for the purpose of drinking brandy, in which they indulged so freely as to become completely intoxicated, after which they went on deck where they showed off the usual ridiculous riot consequent on their drinking bouts, which in this case was carried so far, as to have Bowie knives drawn, but in consequence of the interference of steady men there was no harm done. Fifteenth Sunday from Baltimore.

14th. On our course with a light S.E. wind. Came in sight of a small Island passing to the S.E. of which we found it to be a bold craggy rock with an opening through which the sea flowed with violence. We caught five land pidgeons today, the first became entangled in the shrouds and was taken with the hand, and tied on deck where the other four came down to it, and was taken with the hand also, though not exactly like tame pidgeons. they were quite tame, probably through ignorance of the enemy in whose hands they fell. In the evening we came in sight of land ahead, and changed our course in order to clear it. At noon our Latitude was 53° South.

15. Running S.E. in the morning. Latitude at Meridian 53°, 24′ south. It is very cold, and frequently we have showers of snow. becalmed in the evening.

16th. Last night and this day the wind constantly shifting, but generally unfavourable. Severe winter weather, snow and hail.—

17th. Our ship hove to in consequence of head winds and heavy swells. Seen some very large whales about the vessel today.

18th. Light N.E. wind, running our course S.W. with squared yards, our Latitude at Meridian was 55°, 38′ south.

19th. Sailing very little. The wind light and changeable. Latitude at noon 56°, 04′. Today we crossed the Longitude of Cape Horn. The Latitude and Longitude of which is, 55°, 58′, 40″, S. and 67°, 12′, 25″ west from Greenwich. There falls such quantities of hail and snow on the decks, that we can wash in fresh water, or rather snow every morning. In consequence of the extreme cold, and the stamping and exercise necessary to keep our feet warm, most of us are complaining of sore feet. We have not found Cape Horn so frightful a place as seamen represent it. we are now in its winter, and have often seen more severe weather in the same Latitudes North and experienced as heavy gales in other parts of the Atlantic. What gives us most inconvenience is head winds, and calms, and so soon passing from the Tropics into the cold which makes us feel the cold the more intense.

20th Sunday. Made a very good run all night, but nearly becalmed all day. Latitude at M. 57°, 20′, S. Longitude 68°, 50′ W. The usual religious meeting convened this evening. Sixteenth Sunday from Baltimore.

21st. Becalmed since yesterday, commenced moving this evening.

22nd. This morning we have a N.W. wind, and are running 8 knots an hour. In the evening it blew a gale, and by the quantity of sail our vessel carried, she proved that if she was not a swift sailing ship, she could be depended on in a more important exigency. During the night the wind and sea settled considerably. Latitude 58°, 45′, S. Pacific.

23rd. The wind changed to W. enabling us to run a little west of south. Lat. S. 59°, and Long. 78°, 17′ W. Today we turned the ship on a Northern course, but found, with the wind so much ahead we'd loose more than could be made of our course.

24th. We have not got our ship on the much desired northerly course yet, but every change of wind proves more favourable for the accomplishment of that purpose. Lat. S. 59°, 07′. We must be somewhere near Alexander 1st Island, we are west of it. Last night and today, we have succession of breeze and calm—

25th. every alternate two hours, causing a corresponding elevation and depression of spirits amongst the passengers. This day we have got our yards squared, and are turning—

26th. a northerly course at the rate of 9 or 10 knots. before a south wind that is making some of the weaker ropes of the rigging snap—in the afternoon had to shorten sail.

27th Sunday. Last night the wind changed a head, and increased to a storm, the ship hove to, it is impossible to read or study in consequence of the storm and the rolling of the vessel—seventeenth Sunday out.

28th. The storm unabated.

29th. Still laying to, and the storm still raging. This evening the wind changed more south, and became more moderate, we shook out some sail, and our ship made some head-way on her course. In consequence of the inclement weather, our captain could not get an observation the last four days. Our chronometer has also got out of order, and the more timerous of the passengers were beginning to entertain apprehensions of drifting on the coast of Terra del Fuego—Two of our shipmates, Mr. Emmee and Mr. Murqe, had some hot words tonight.

30th. Though the weather continues very stormy, and our ship running under close reefed top-sails, we have made considerable of our course since yesterday. At Meridian we got an observation, and found that we were in Lat. S. 52°, 30′. Seen a ship to the eastward.

31st. The wind having changed south this morning, we are enabled to run right before it, steering by the compass N.W. by W. which, allowing a variation of two points here, makes our course due North. Latitude at Meridian 49°, 10′ South. We are off Cape Corso, on the coast of Terra del Fuego. The weather though still very cold, is not so much so as off Cape Horn, we can still wash in the frozen hail and snow, which settles on the deck during the night. Mr. I. May, one of the steerage passengers, has been sick for some time. We have got a rather singular case, in the person of a Mr. Emmee, a Sweedish gentleman of good education, and courteous manners, who has of late manifested symptoms of mental abberation. He having of the later become impressed with the notion, that his messmates, with the ship's company in general are in league to shoot, or poison him, or otherwise take his life. Through fear of being shot, he refused to go to sleep, and through fear of

being poisoned to eat. There is not the least cause that we know of for these apprehensions which if he do not banish from his mind, he must die of exhuastion.

June – 1849 –

1st. Mr. Emmee has taken no rest the last three nights, his fears have so far overcome him, that he remains on deck all night. This morning when we got up, we seen him sitting on a small cannon aft the Cabin, shivering with cold, and with much persuasions prevailed on him to come down in the Steerage. This morning freshened, and changed from S. to E. and we commenced running in fine style. At 12 o'clock M, Longitude S. 46° 29′. In the course of the evening the wind blew so stiff that it was expedient to shorten sail.

2nd. This morning has been cloudy with a drizzling rain, we have a good sailing breeze. In the afternoon the rain increased, and the wind fell, The Capt. took advantage of the calm, to take down and replace the main sail, and fore-top-sail, which had been riven in the gales this side the Horn. The Capt. and passengers, through pity to Mr. Emmee, took him down out of the rain, by force to the cabin. He could not be persuaded to leave the deck, or take any refreshment for the last four days. This morning he came down to the steerage, and took a small cheese from his box, saying he thought they had no opportunity of putting poison in it, we were glad to see him take any refreshment, for by continuing to abstain from food, his death could not be far distant. Mr. May, who had been ailing is recovered. This night Messrs. Macky & Jarrett, had a scuffle in which the latter, drew a knife, but was prevented from doing any harm with it.

3rd. With yesterday evening's rain, came a calm, which continued last night, and today. This morning has been clear and warm. The sun came out with springlike warmth and brightness such as we have been a stranger to for many weeks. Taking advantage of the fine morning the passengers were stirring at an early hour, in order to admit the free ingress of the pure air the main hatch was lifted for the first time this eight weeks, and a general cleaning up ensued. which being got through with, those who were inclined, attended a religious meeting in the steerage where an address was delivered by a Millenarian on his own particular belief which, though different in many respects from that of his audience, was listened to with attention, as is always the case on board, though we have many who do not believe in the Christian religion, and those of our shipmates who do, entertain many different and disjoined opinions respecting it. This morning, Mr. Emmee appeared in some respects recovered from his malady, but in a short time relapsed into it again, falling on his knees before the Capt. on deck, and imploring his protection from the passengers, who he believes are intent on taking his life, for which he craves quarter in the most earnest manner, until we get to Valpariso. every effort that humanity can suggest is being tried with him, but to no avail. Our Latitude at Meridian was 42°, 58′ south. To the W. of the Island of Chiloe. The Albatross, Cape Pidgeon, and other of the feathered tribe

peculiar to these latitudes, flock about our course, and seem nearly as domesticated as the fowls of a barn yard. Another of them shameful skirmishes originating in trifles, occurred tonight between two of the passengers; this was about a bake-pan. Seventeenth Sunday from Balt.

4th. This morning we had a very light breeze, which ended in a short calm at 9 o'clock A.M. from which time till 11, the sky became overcast when a breeze sprung up which increased till 3 P.M. when, as we were running at about 10 knots before the wind, a most extraordinary occurrence took place. The Gentleman who has been noticed in the foregoing remarks, as showing symptoms of insanity, completed the tragedy by jumping overboard, immediately preceeding this occurrence he was talking in a social manner with some of the passengers, and took a drink of water out of the cask at the main-hatch, then walking aft in his usual manner, he suddenly put his foot on a gun, which was lashed against the larboured side of the ship, and springing upon the bulwarks plunged into the waves. So sudden was his movements, that those who were looking on had not time to reach him before he was gone. Immediately the alarm was given and everything which could be got at readily, such as boards, scuttles, empty barrels. etc. were thrown over, but he did not seem to care for them nor try to swim, or save himself. The Capt. done all in his power to save him, but the ship being running at such a rapid rate under studding sails with the general confusion on deck, caused some mistake in cutting loose the boat, which got stove in, and broke loose, and went adrift without anyone in it. Previous to this the ship was brought up in the wind, the sails thrown aback, and the main and fore-sails clewed up, but when the boat was gone, and the man lost sight of all hopes of saving him were relinquished, the sails dropped and the ship set on her course, and with feelings of awe and amazement we left the deck, to talk over this mysterious occurrence.

Throughout the whole of his proceedings previous to this day, there was nothing in his conduct which would justify us in thinking that he would make an attempt on his own life, on the contrary he manifested such a cowardly fear of death, that none could suppose he would hasten that event by suicide. he had taken more than ordinary trouble this morning at his toilet, and in arranging his books, and papers. some of the latter with writings, he was seen to fold in his neck handkerchief, but this was thought the result of his ungrounded fears. It appears that he entered and passed under an assumed name, as he told the surgeon some days ago, that his name was G. I. Engarden. the reason he assigned for changing it, was a failure in business in Sweden, and his setting up in the U. States under the name of Emmee. Yesterday and today some of the passengers were practicing with fire-arms on deck which might have an injurious effect on his disordered imagination. Latitude South at noon 42°. Off Castro in Terra del Fuego—(The Captain took charge of Mr. Emmee's things this evening)

5th. We continued sailing rapidly all night, but were becalmed in the

morning. Latitude 41° S. late this evening the breeze sprang up and we are again in motion. The shocking occurrence of yesterday affords subject for the serious consideration of the passengers. Many of whom attempt to solve the dark problem, by suppositions, many of which are not favorable or charitable to the deceased. Others, ever ready to convert the most serious occurrence into the ludicrous and amusing, would assert that they seen him last night passing the ship, in the boat which broke adrift, having studding sails set, and steering for Valpariso, where they expect to see him again.

6th. Wind N.E. or nearly ahead, have to tack ship frequently. One of our passengers asserts that he seen Emme's ghost last night, in two different dresses which he used to wear; one, a morning gown, and the other a peculiar kind of cloak with high fur collar, and a Dutch Cap. He was so sure of the apparition, that he awoke his bed fellow to show it to him, but the sleeper not being willing to have his slumbers disturbed by a visitor from the other world, only responded to the shaking and pinching, by Mr. E. be d——d, in such a voice as soon banished, or put an end to the delusion. Lat. 39°, 54′, S. The passengers were practicing with Rifles, fowling pieces and revolvers, in all which they exhibit but little proficiency.

7th. Light, but fair breeze, today, in using their firearms, some of the passengers have proved themselves good marksmen, by killing four out of five Cape Pidgeons, with the Rifle, which is very difficult, in consequence of the motion of the ship and waves.

8th. We were awoke this morning with the cry of, Land a head! and when we came on deck, a long range of elevated Coast could be distinctly seen at a distance of about 20 miles, to the N.E. and our ship bearing down on it. It was supposed to be Point Conception, on the Coast of Chile. At 8 o'clock A.M. we put about Ship, leaving the land astern, and ran all day a point N of West. a cloudy mist came on, through which we seen a ship on the same Tack which we so lately changed, if her Capt. don't know his longitude better than ours, she is in rather a dangerous proximity to the land in the fog. We thought we were hundreds of miles West of it.

9th. Last night our ship was laid on the old. N.E. course, and continued running all day in it, with a light breeze. Lat. 38°, 02′, S. Long. 75°, 36′. Our chronometer has been set a working again. This evening a hot wordy affair came off, between the Capt. and one of the Cabin passengers. It resulted in the Captain having rec'd. or fancied he received an insulting answer from one of them, when requesting them to desist from a very disagreeable practice of making a brawling noise on the quarter deck, preventing the officers of the ship from getting their necessary rest. It ended in a general eclaireissement.

10th Sunday. Wind N. running N.E. by E. about 2 o'clock came in sight of the Coast, on which we were bearing down, and when within about 20 miles of it, put about on a N.W. tack, seen two ships crossing our course. The usual evening prayer meeting was held this evening at which an address was delivered by Mr. Griffith from Luke 13th and 6th. It is understood that

this gentlemen is licensed by the Methodist society to act as an itinerant preacher in California. He may be better adapted to preach to the Indians, when he learns their language than he is to address intelligent emigrants eighteenth Sunday from Balt.

11th. We are becalmed, there is a vessel about six miles ahead of us. The weather is temperate and beautiful, shooting Cape Pidgeons, and Albatross is the deck employment, while between decks they are all employed either at card, etc. or studying French, Spanish, & English. But there is decidedly more proficiency attained in playing cards than any other thing. All who could play on the violin or flute assembled in the steerage tonight and had a tolerable concert. It is to be desired that this attempt-at refined amusement, may be frequently repeated, as in the absence of such it is too often the case that the time spent by most of the young men in a very unedifying manner.

12th. A light head wind against which our ship beating, the vessel we seen yesterday in sight all day. This night has been spent by the passengers in reading, music, & cardplaying in the first of these, mostly all indulge at times, the second, only a few understand, but the last is all the rage. The devotees of this vice, had to be dispersed last night at 12 o'clock, by being pelted from the table with biscuit, which led to a general engagement in which about half a barrel of bread was expended.

13th. Stiff north wind, came in sight of land on the N.E. tack. It appeared to be one high range of mountain, as far as could be seen from the ship when within about fifteen miles of it, we changed our course N.W. running so all day. Lat. 36°, 03′ South. There is a Barque taking [tacking] at a distance on the same course with us. This night we had rather a novel termination or after piece to the concern which our musical amateurs were pleased to treat us to. The oil in one of the lamps had been spent and a few of the b'hoys passed two hogs, down the main-hatch, and tortured them in such a manner that they sent forth sounds that drowned all the instruments, giving the whole a very base-tenor, taking it all in all, it was the most hoggish affair that came off since we put to sea.

14th. Tacking against a head wind, Lat. 34°, 45′ south. about 8 o'clock P.M. a vessel came down on us, in the darkness. we did not see each other until so near, that we had hardly time to leave others' course. while passing lights were shown, but did not hail.

15th. The business of the morning, getting breakfast, etc., was commenced as usual, when our ship which was sailing at about 8 knots was struck by a squall, which tore our jib to shreds and broke several ropes, four of the seamen was sent out on the jib-boom, to furl the torn sheet, and put things to rights. while doing so, one of the seamen was precipitated into the ocean, by a sudden role of the ship, and a stroke of the flapping sail. Again the appalling cry of a man overboard rang through every part of the vessel, and then the scene that ensued baffles description. all hands rushed confusedly on deck, where the few who had seen the man fall off were running to and fro, trying

to get a rope to trow to him. Unfortunately they could not get one loose until he fell in the ship's wake; about this time I gained the deck and commenced trowing scuttles and boards etc. over the side in hopes that he might catch some of them. We soon cleared the decks of every loose spar, and anything which could be got at in the hurry, but in consequence of the swell of the sea he could not get within reach of any of them. While these things were a doing by the passengers, the captain who took his stand on the roof of the Cabin, was giving his orders with promptness and skill for the purpose of putting the ship about. In doing this the passengers headed by a few of the sailors, clewed up the main-sail, hauled in the braces, etc. while the remainder with the mate went aft and commenced preparations for lowering the stern boat. before doing which they found it necessary to stop two or three holes and chinks, before they could venture in her. All this was done in the shortest possible time, and the ship thrown on the starboard tack, ran back about half a mile, and then brought up in the wind, when the Second Mate, Mr. Lewis, with two hardy and corageous tars, Joe & Nelson got into the boat, which was lowered with the greatest care, and despatch. while lowering her the greatest anxiety was felt on board lest she should be stove like the last, and thereby loose three more of our men. Luckily she was launched in safety, and they pulled of[f] in the direction of the drowning man, who by this time was a mile distant from the ship, and who, the boatmen could not see, but shaped their course according to the directions of the Capt. who went up the rigging with his glass to keep the man in view. Mr. Lewis taking his place on his knees in the bow of the boat, to act as a look out, and watching the signals from the ship, in this manner he kept their course climing up the watery ridges, for a moment on their summits, then the frail boat would seem for a time lost in the watery valleys, thus alternately appearing and disappearing. They succeeded in getting a sight of poor Bob, and with some difficulty got him in, in consequence of the tremendous swells they did not see him until within a few yards of where he lay but he caught a glimpse of them when they were leaving the ship and instead of trying to swim to them, he wisely lay floating with comparative ease until they picked him up, when it was found that he had divested himself of his knife belt, boots, pantaloons, a couple of woolen shirts, and drawers, these had like to drown him, as one of the legs stuck on—a hard knot being on the string round his ankle. On the arrival of the boat at the ship, the same exciting interest was felt, considering the danger of getting them safely on board, and the sea running so very high. But after skilfull management the boat was safely swung to the davits, and its precious freight transferred to the deck, and the usual remedies tried for the resuscitation of the poor seamen who had been ¾ of a hour by the watch, in the water, before the boat reached him. He is a native of one of the Sandwich Islands, of a bright yellow color, and powerful frame, and by his performance in the water, confirms the general belief that the Sandwich Islanders are the best swimmers in the world. The captain entertained great hopes

of saving him, for which he evinced the greatest anxiety and was heard to say, with tears on his cheeks, that he would not for $1000 loose that man. He had a most remarkable escape. I pray God we may not have to witness such another sight during the remainder of the voyage. Lat. at noon 34°, 57′ S. sailing all evening at the rate of five or six knots an hour.

16th. The wind changeable and squally all night, blowing this morning from S.E. by E. to [two] ships in sight on the same course. At 8 o'clock A.M. came in sight of land, we are all in higher spirits than usual hoping to be in Valpariso tonight. As we approached the coast though distant from it some eighty miles, we can see the snowy peaks of the Andes, which are distant from Valpariso about ninety miles, though some parts of the same range is only thirty miles from the harbour, but it was the most distant and elevated of them which came in sight first. They appeared as if piled behind and above each other, until the outline of their broken and towering summits became indistinct in the clouds. at noon our Latitude was 33°, 22′ S. 17 miles south of Valpariso, and about twice as far west. We pressed on all sail in order if possible to get in with daylight, but when within about twelve miles of port, we were benighted, and put about, laying off and on all night, in the early part of which it blew so fresh that it was thought necessary to run out to sea for safety.

18th. Sunday. This morning we were awoke by a sudden shock, and an unusual report, there was a stiff breeze, or nearly a gale blowing at the time, (it was about 4 o'clock) some of us went on deck to ascertain what occasioned it. When it was found that one of the main sheets had given way in the blocks. immediately the main top-sail-yard was run down and the damage temporarily repaired, and a few volunteers from the steerage gave a hand in hoisting it again, and joined their voices in the song to which it was performed. We had a clear but weak moonlight and though the land was in sight, it was not yet distinct enough to ascertain the proper place to steer for, so we headed for it under easy sail, until the mists of the morning having sufficiently cleared away we discovered the proper place, and pressed on all sail. We gained the anchorage at 10 o'clock A.M. making the passage from Rio Janeiro in 63 days, and from Baltimore in 134, being delayed 19 days in Rio and experiencing some very severe gales, and the most of the time very unfavourable winds, and frequent calms, without suffering any material loss except unfortunate Mr. Emmee. When we review our voyage this far, we find reason for thankfulness to Providence for our present condition especially when we hear others fared in course of the same voyage. The Barque Hebe, which left Balt. with us, and came into Valpariso this morning lost seven of her passengers, her mate and four seamen, and a schooner in her company lost her first mate with them in the straits of Magellan, they having gone ashore to Gun, during a calm and a gale springing up drove the vessels from their moorings, compelling them to put to sea for safety, and leave their comrades on shore amongst the Patagonians. The Ship Robert Browne of

New York, with 166 passengers, was spoken in a gale of[f] Cape Horn, by an English vessel now here, which reports her then in a sinking condition but from the violence of the storm could not render her any assistance. (drew our back Rations of beef to this date). It is believed that they are lost, as another vessel brings tidings of seeing a ship sink in the same gale. Another passenger vessel here, lost her carpenter in one of the gales which we came through off the River Platte. Taking these things into consideration, together with the gratifying news from California, we are all well pleased with our present condition.

The City of Valpariso, from our anchorage, presents a most dingy and despicable appearance, partly owing to its being built on very uneven ground and of a very sattered plan. The shore on the approach to the harbour, has a very arid and sterile aspect, sloping from the mountains to the coast, in zigzag and parallel ridges, seperated from each other by as many ravines or beds of mountain torrents, now dry, while all around is covered with stunted grass, or brush. But before passing sentence on the place, we must remember this is their winter. After the usual visit from the government officers, many of our shipmates went ashore. some did not return at night, while many of those who did, presented the detestable spectacle of inebrious folly. There has been no prayer meeting on board today, in consequnce of the excitement and bustle consequent on coming into port. Nineteenth Sunday from Baltimore.

[*To be continued*]

"THE MAN OF THE HOUR" AND HIS TEACHER

This is an appreciation of the "Class of 1915" and its teacher and its president. It was not a college group, nor even a high school class. It was an Eighth Grade class in old Longfellow School in Oakland. There were forty-eight members, equally divided between boys and girls. It was before the day of retarded and accelerated classification. Some were brilliant students, many were average, some may have been retarded. For more than two years they worked together, studied together, planned together, and played together. From that group came many outstanding citizens, and all were successful in terms of their capacities and abilities. Strangely, through the years the badge of "that wonderful Class of 1915" has been worn with greater pride than any other honor which has come to them. Just what it was that sparked their ambition may be debatable. As a prejudiced observer, I think there were two influences: its teacher, and the president of the class. The picture at left of the two was taken 48 years later. One is my wife, the other is my treasured friend.

I think I know some of the factors which have produced these extraordinary results—for the former, enthusiasm, cheerfulness, brains, and hard work; for the latter, ability, persistence, sincerity, and more hard work.

This month of February, 1963, marks the beginning of anniversaries for Lawton Kennedy, "The Man of the Hour," as he was known while president of the Class of 1915. It marks 50 years of printing experience, 30 years as printer of the *California Historical Quarterly* and its special publications, his 63rd birthday in May, and a special citation by Walter Muir Whitehill in the *Independent Historical Societies*, published by Boston Athenaeum, 1962.

Grace and I are thrilled at this latest honor to the PACIFIC HISTORIAN'S printer. In part, it reads:

"The forty-one volumes (of the *California Historical Society Quarterly*) represents a substantial historical contribution; they are also attractive to read both because of the nature of their contents and because of the high standards of typography that prevail in San Francisco. Of all journals issued by State historical societies today, this one is the most pleasing to the eye."

So I am proud of my friend who does such wonderful things, and I am proud of my wife whose life has inspired so many to work to their capacity.

R. R. STUART

THE HISTORY CALENDAR

March 17, 1963
Twentieth Lynnewood Conference
Community Planning

March 29-30, 1963
Sixteenth Annual California History Foundation Institute
University of the Pacific

March 30, 1963
Jedediah Smith Society Breakfast

April 4-June 28, 1963
Raymond College Spring Term

April 6-13, 1963
Sixteenth Annual California Missions Tour

April 18-20, 1963
Pacific Northwest History Conference
Tacoma, Washington

April 21, 1963
Twenty-first Lynnewood Conference
Suburbiana

May 19, 1963
Twenty-second Lynnewood Conference
Local Environ

June 17-July 19, 1963
University of the Pacific—First Summer Term

June 20-23, 1963
Ninth Annual Meeting
Conference of California Historical Societies
San Francisco

July 22-August 23, 1963
University of the Pacific—Second Summer Term